

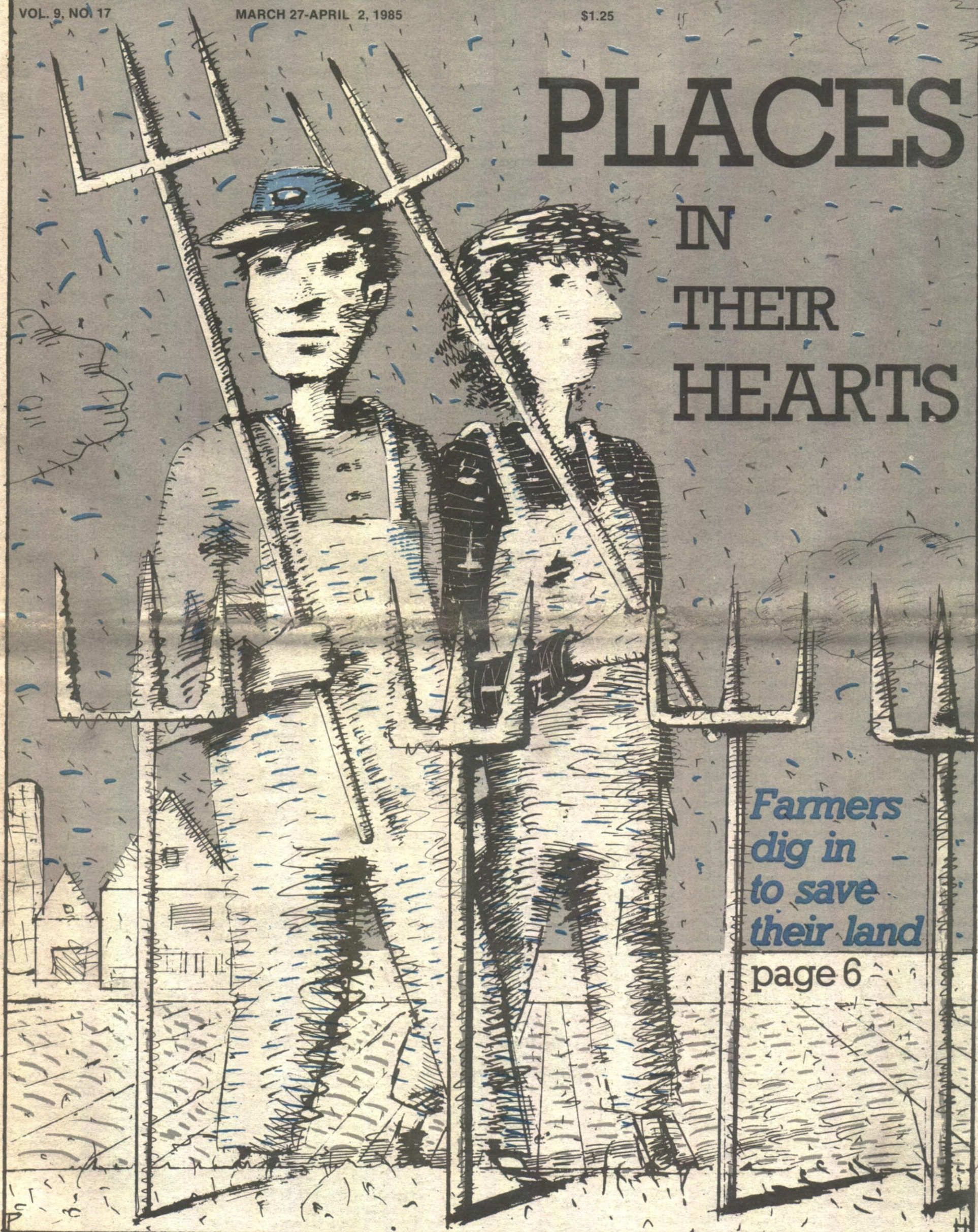
IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 9, NO. 17

MARCH 27-APRIL 2, 1985

\$1.25

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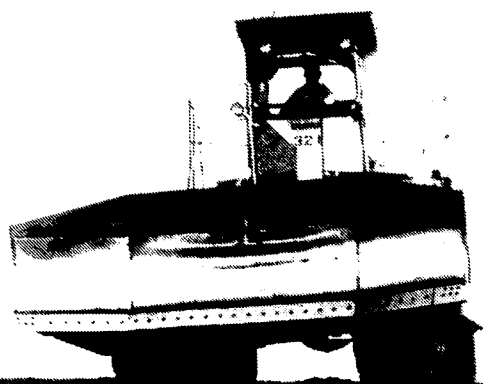
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Under Kentucky's broad form deeds, coal companies are allowed free reign in their effort to extract the land's mineral wealth.

Lionel Delvingne

Land rape in Ky.

By Lynn Arditi

Sidney Cornett, a retired army major, came back after two tours of Vietnam to seek refuge in the peace and quiet of the mountains of Perry County, Ky. The land he came to live on had been in the family for years, including 128 acres where his grandfather raised sheep, cattle and livestock. But before long, Cornett's sanctuary became a battleground. He awoke one winter morning in 1983 to discover that a parcel of his land had been strip-mined without warning. Once prime timber land, two acres of Cornett's land had been transformed into a moonscape by the Vagas Coal Company.

Vagas had the legal right to mine without personally informing Cornett under one of the nation's most arcane property laws, known as the "broad form deed." Vagas purchased the mineral rights from Cornett's grandfather in 1923. Cornett's situation resembles that of thousands of eastern Kentucky residents whose ancestors sold the mineral rights to their land at the turn of the century. Mountaineers who were often illiterate signed away the mineral rights to out-of-state speculators for as little as 50¢ an acre. For decades, many of these deeds sat idle in county courthouses. But as new technologies have made these hills more profitable to mine, coal companies have begun calling them in. Kentucky is the only state in the nation to permit strip-mining under the broad form deeds—most of which were signed before new technology made strip-mining profitable.

Under broad form deeds, coal companies are allowed virtually free reign in their effort to extract the land's mineral wealth. Back when the deeds were signed, men in bulldozers came and tore up part of Cornett senior's farm, uprooting the potatoes he had planted. Generations later, modern strip-mining equipment is chewing up whole acres of Cornett's land, leaving it inhospitable. Cornett and his neighbors are worried about the 10-acre site Vagas plans to mine—at the place where their local water supply is located. Under state law, broad form deed owners are permitted to mine the land without restrictions or compensation to the land-owner for damages. In most cases, no reclamation work is done. In their wake, mining companies often leave an environmental disaster: deserted haul roads, polluted streams and toxic refuse. While not all mineral deeds are the "broad form" type, in eastern Kentucky, one of the state's major coal producing regions, they are the predominant form of mineral ownership.

Just across the border in West Virginia, the state high court has effectively outlawed strip-mining under broad form deeds by ruling that only the type of mining used at the time the deed was signed is permitted. States like Pennsylvania and Tennessee have taken similar action to restrict the use of broad form deeds, protecting the rights of the surface owners. But in Kentucky, property laws governing broad form deeds have changed little since their author, John C.C. Mayo, pioneered the deeds in the early 1900s. A native of eastern Kentucky, Mayo made his name when he began working with a Chicago-based energy company that offered to pay him \$5 per acre for mineral lands in Letcher, Pike and Floyd counties. Rather than buy the land outright, Mayo devised a way to purchase the underlying coal and minerals, together with the right to mine and remove them by all means "deemed necessary or convenient" as conveyed in his broad form mineral deed.

Mayo's skill in winning the confidence of even the most skeptical mountaineers helped him to lead a series of spectacular coups in which he purchased the seemingly worthless black rock beneath their mountain for little more than a pig rifle and a vague assurance that the land would not be mined for a long time. He used the broad form deed to buy up the coal and minerals under some 600,000 acres of land in the region.

Today, most of Kentucky's strip mines are held under broad form deeds, according to the Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition. During the past

10 years hundreds of landowners have been forced to permit strip-mining on their land, though it was often their distant relatives who signed away the rights. For many, the first word they hear of a mining company's plans is through the mandatory public notices printed in local newspapers. Frankfurt attorney John Rosenberg says that during the past year 20 to 30 notices a week have appeared across the state.

Because no laws restrict mining under broad form deeds, mountaineers have traditionally tried to strike deals with coal companies that want to mine their land, hoping at least to limit the abuse. For Cornett, this worked for a time. He signed an agreement in 1977 with Falcon Coal Company that allowed them to mine "just the top seam of coal," says Cornett, who adds that "most of us agreed because this company was doing pretty good reclaiming." Unfortunately, Falcon was sold to Vagas Coal Company, and the new owner decided not to abide by Cornett's agreement. Vagas insisted on strip-mining the land Cornett tried to preserve.

Efforts at the state level to limit the abuses under broad form deeds have been struck down three times in the last 10 years. What protection Kentucky's landowners may have received from the 1977 Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act has been severely undercut since former Interior Department Secretary James Watt gave states the authority to develop their own programs to regulate surface mining. Taken off the federal leash, communities in eastern Kentucky have been left to battle the broad form deeds in their county courthouses, where coal interests have traditionally held sway.

One of the most effective groups to organize opposition to the deeds is the Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition (KFTC), a citizens' organization that was instrumental in leading a state-wide initiative to make coal taxes more equitable. The KFTC has recently organized coal field citizens to testify before the Senate committee on the adverse effects of mining under broad form deeds, and created a legal defense fund for landowners challenging a company's right to mine under the broad form deed.

Last year they won a major battle when the Kentucky General Assembly passed a law requiring that mining be conducted only with the technology available at the time the deed was signed, making strip-mining under broad form deeds impossible. But Gov. Martha Layne Collins and the Department of Natural Resources effectively undercut the new ruling, siding with industry in their decision to issue permits as before, unless successfully challenged in state court. Impoverished hill dwellers are thus forced to post thousands of dollars in bonds to obtain a court injunction against coal operators—an effort that may ultimately prove futile. Moreover, by the time the dispute is settled in court, it is often too late to prevent the strip-mining.

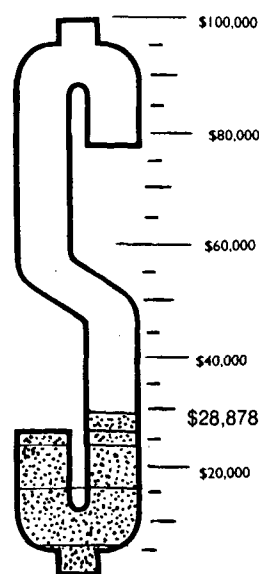
Four suits are pending in Kentucky state courts, filed by landowners disputing the coal companies' right to strip mine their land under broad form deeds. As litigation from these suits piles up in county courthouses across Kentucky, the state continues to issue mining permits to companies holding broad form mineral deeds. Frankfurt attorney Joe Childers, who represents one of the landowners whose

THE STORY

suit is pending, argues that the state is doing so illegally, making a "right to mine" finding before the courts have settled the broad form deed question.

A few days before last Christmas, five neighboring landowners took the broad form deed dispute to federal court. They charged that the state Natural Resources Environmental Protection Cabinet and the federal Office of Surface Mining had failed to enforce mining regulations requiring operators to present proof of their right to mine before being granted permits by the state. Earlier this month, eastern Kentucky landowners won a significant victory when a federal judge ordered the state to stop issuing strip-mine permits when property rights are in dispute under broad form deeds. The federal ruling supports landowners' cause by requiring either a surface owner's consent or clear language in a deed allowing strip-mining. Moreover, the state's Natural Resources Cabinet will have to revoke permits it has issued in disputed cases since the Kentucky broad form deed law took effect last July 13.

Lynn Arditi works for the Center for Investigative Reporting in Washington.



A matter of course

After six weeks of our \$100,000 fund drive we are barely one-quarter of the way to our goal. This past week only 60 people sent in contributions, amounting to \$3,017 and bringing our total of contributions and pledges (\$405) to \$28,878. No new sustainers were added to our list, so we remain at 385, or 15 short of our goal of 400 sustainers.

This tepid response was not totally unexpected from a letter that did not threaten imminent demise. But by now our readers should know that political journals, right, left or center, are like public radio and public television: we depend on our subscribers for our survival, not just in emergencies, but as a matter of course.

But you know that. So please send a check.

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By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

EUROPE IS IN CRISIS. EVERYONE keeps saying so. There is a sinking feeling, a loss of direction. Western European governments are all more or less following Ronald Reagan, even if they resent his monetary policies, are appalled by his attitude toward Central America and frightened of "Star Wars." They are following because they don't see any good alternative. If they did, most of them would probably bolt and run.

In the absence of any political direction, there is endless talk of economics and technology. But it is unlikely that political ideals are really gone forever.

Local elections held in both France and West Germany on March 10 suggested the possible shape of emerging new political projects and coalitions designed to pull Europe out of the stagnation of the "crisis." In both countries the elections were dominated by the success of a strong new political leader.

In France, attention was riveted on Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the extreme right-wing National Front, which first emerged as a political force to be reckoned with in the European Parliamentary elections last June with a campaign playing on hostility to immigrant workers, especially North Africans. Widely-publicized revelations in mid-February of Le Pen's role in interrogating and torturing prisoners during the war in Algeria in early 1957 did not do his campaign for the March 10 cantonal elections any noticeable harm.

Nationwide, Le Pen's National Front (NF) scored 8.69 percent of the vote, less than its 11 percent in the European elections. But this does not mean much since the NF did not run candidates everywhere. What matters more is that the NF consolidated its strength in certain regions, especially the French Riviera—an area with a special sociological, economic and strategic nature that makes it particularly susceptible to the National Front's mixture of anti-Arab xenophobia and rabid anti-Communism.

In Toulon, a Mediterranean port and naval base, the National Front scored over 31 percent in one district and led the traditional right-wing parties with 27 percent in others. The extreme right also did well in Marseilles, Cannes and Nice. In fashionable Saint Tropez, the NF's most influential supporter was Prince Charles della Torre e Tasso (a descendant of the Bonapartes), and its candidate was the vice president of the local association of former settlers in Algeria, Jean-Louis Bougeureau, who calls Le Pen "the French Reagan, a man who has turned around the wind of history all by himself."

In Germany, the hero of the March 10 elections was Oskar Lafontaine, who politically is almost the opposite of Le Pen. Le Pen is essentially a trouble-maker. The basic political question raised in France by his success is whether he will pull the resurgent "respectable" right, and thus the country as a whole, further to the right in next year's legislative elections, or whether, on the contrary, the specter of Le Pen will split the respectable right and allow the emergence next year of a centrist coalition between the Socialists and those conservatives who reject electoral alliance with the National Front.

SPD victory in '87?

The basic political question raised by Lafontaine's success is whether the Social Democratic Party (SPD) has found the leader and the line that can carry it to national victory in 1987. At 42, Lafontaine himself seems to have no doubts. Now that he has triumphantly gone from mayor of Saarbrücken to prime minister of the Saarland with an absolute majority in the state legislature, Lafontaine is a serious contender for eventual leadership of the SPD.

Lafontaine's victory was enhanced by

the ignominious defeat on the same day of Hans Apel, the SPD's candidate for mayor of West Berlin and the leader of the party's right wing. Apel, who was Helmut Schmidt's defense minister during the Euro-missiles controversy, stressed throughout the campaign his refusal to consider any collaboration in office with the Alternative List, more or less the Berlin equivalent of the Greens, although more markedly left-wing. Since the SPD had no serious prospect of gaining an absolute majority, this refusal to consider left coalition amounted to hints of willingness to join a center-right coalition with the ruling Christian Democrats (CDU), in case their partner, the Free Democratic Party (FDP), should fail to get over the 5 percent hurdle, leaving both CDU and SPD without an absolute majority. This would have been a test for the "grand coalition" between Social Democrats and Christian Democrats that is no doubt more in the thoughts of SPD leaders than they care to admit in public.

Apel's strategy evidently lost the SPD votes on both the left and the right. The CDU, led by incumbent Mayor Eberhard Diepgen, scored 46.4 percent, the SPD did poorly with 32.4 percent, the Alternative List got 10.6 percent and the FDP, far from disappearing as hoped, bounced back with 8.4 percent.

Lafontaine's approach in the Saarland was just the opposite. Far from stigmatizing the Greens, he embraced their causes and demanded that they share government responsibility in a coalition if they were really serious about getting things done. The Saarland Greens, relatively weak to start with, rejected in advance a "red-green" alliance with the SPD. Voters gave them only 2.5 percent, too little to get into the state legislature, and Lafontaine, with an absolute majority, went on to build a "red-green" alliance out of Social Democrats alone.

A key figure in Lafontaine's experiment in "ecosocialism" in the Saarland will be his new minister for the environment, Jo Leinen, former chairman of the influential environmentalist league of citizens initiatives (BBU) as well as of the national coordinating committee that organized major demonstrations against deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles (see story page 11). Leinen enthusiastically supports the prospect of a Green-SPD coalition to govern West Germany in the next decade. The paradox, of course, is that what is likely to endear Lafontaine and Leinen most to top SPD politicians is precisely their success in being "green" enough to eliminate the Greens—something the conservative Apel approach was quite unable to achieve.

Conquering hero.

Lafontaine was cheered as the conquering hero by Saarland Social Democrats, to whom he is the local boy who has made very good indeed. From a working-class background, educated by Jesuits and with a degree in physics, Lafontaine combines advocacy of "green" themes such as ecology and disarmament with a very "un-green" style. Rigorous, disciplined and even authoritarian in character, his often-noted resemblance to Napoleon is sometimes thought not to stop at physical features.

Whereas, in the early '80s, most SPD leaders tried to put down the peace movement as an unseemly threat, and a few others, like Erhard Eppler, joined it more

In West Germany, Oskar Lafontaine is a serious contender for the leadership of the Social Democrats.



Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the extreme right-wing National Front in France

Der Spiegel

WESTERN EUROPE

Two new stars of Europe in crisis

or less as a cross they had to bear, Lafontaine plunged in enthusiastically, sensing that this was where the SPD could tap new strength and revive the idealism smothered by years of Helmut Schmidt pragmatism.

In his latest book, *Der andere Fortschritt: Verantwortung statt Verweigerung* ("The new progress: responsibility, not refusal"), Lafontaine excuses Schmidt's apparent technocratic coldness by the fact that he belonged to a political generation whose youth coincided with Nazi rule and who was therefore suspicious of any expression of political idealism, having seen the frightful effects of its misuse and perversion.

For his short period as chancellor, Willy Brandt had offered identification and hope to German youth, but afterward, the SPD-FDP coalition headed by Schmidt presented a "German model" more and more disappointing to youth. Youth "could not identify with growth fetishism, bans on radicals, hysteria over terrorism, nuclear power and the NATO double decision." Thus young people abandoned the SPD and felt politically "homeless," according to Lafontaine. The need for a "home" or "homeland" (*Heimat*) exists, and expresses itself in citizens' initiatives to protect their water, their air, their forests, their surroundings from industrial damage or nuclear war.

"The founding of the Green party is a result of this development," wrote Lafontaine. "Nuclear weapons, atomic energy and ongoing destruction of the countryside have fused together homeless leftists and citizens attached to conservative values in a new party." The Green Party provides a

"feeling of a political home," a sense of "identity in a new political culture." For this reason, it will probably not disappear as fast as some people think, according to Lafontaine, who estimates the Green hard core at around 5 percent.

The SPD lost a good part of a generation because of the limits of Schmidt's "realism," related to Karl R. Popper's philosophy of "critical rationalism," which rejects overall historical views of reality for day-to-day problem-solving. Such realism never attempts to bring about different social conditions, but only to keep existing ones in order. Public discussion is stuck in technical problems of "economic growth" or "military balance" that cannot solve real and rapidly escalating problems.

Thus short-range realism or *Realpolitik* is stuck in a dilemma, a crisis. "Reason, the great achievement of the Enlightenment," demands disarmament but "technological rationality" calls for increasing arms expenditures.

Lafontaine argues that the time has come to define what we really want, what our real goals are, and not to run after "growth indicators" that, it is now clear, do not indicate any qualitative improvement in the life of society. The SPD must incorporate ecological values with the historic values of the working class.

Tough road ahead.

Lafontaine faces a tough test in putting some of his ideas into practice in the Saarland—one of West Germany's smallest (1.1 million inhabitants), poorest and most

Continued on page 22

INSHORT

By Beth Maschinot

Hungry generals

The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (NWTRCC) estimates that from 10,000 to 20,000 citizens won't be filing U.S. income tax this year—not because they don't have to, but because they refuse to pay. Larry Bassett, a Long Island peace activist, has been a tax resister since 1980 because, he says, "60 percent of our taxes goes to the Pentagon," and he doesn't want to help the Reagan administration build more nuclear bombs or aid Central American dictatorships, writes Susan Jaffe. He has refused to comply with a court order issued by Federal District Court Judge Jack Weinstein requiring Bassett to submit financial information to the IRS.

The IRS wants to know where Bassett's savings account is. And where to find any other assets so they can take the money he owes—\$1,300. If Bassett is found guilty of violating the court order, he could be sent to jail indefinitely for being in contempt of court until he agrees to cooperate or until the judge decides his imprisonment serves no purpose.

Bassett realizes that \$1,300 is not a lot of money, but that's not the point. "No general is going to bed hungry because I didn't pay my taxes," he says. "I'm aware of that. But it's a political statement that the government can't ignore. And they are obviously not ignoring it." Instead of sending his money to the IRS, Bassett contributes an equivalent amount to peace groups and needy friends, often victims of Reagan's budget cuts. So even if he hasn't inconvenienced the Pentagon, Bassett says, "it makes a difference to the people I've helped with my tax resistance money. And it also makes a difference to me: what I'm doing makes me feel that my life is more consistent with what I believe. I'm living what I believe in as many ways as I can: this is one of them."

Tax resistance is also his job. He is a staff member at the NWTRCC. So instead of being intimidated by the IRS and the courts, Bassett issues press releases about his case and organizes supporters to send letters to the judge and demonstrate at the courthouse. For more information on tax resistance, contact the NWTRCC at P.O. Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11772; (516) 654-8227.

IRS hits jackpot

The IRS didn't have too hard a time locating war tax resister Karl Meyer's assets: late last month they seized a small trailer he owns and a station wagon he leases, both parked in front of his Chicago home. Then they handed him a bill for \$20,000 in penalty fines—and Meyer informed them that their figures were way too low because he had already received notices in the mail for \$135,000. Meyer, a 10-year tax resister and long an innovator in tax resistance circles, was being penalized for what he calls his "Cabbage Patch resistance." Every day in 1984 he sent a return to a different IRS office somewhere in the country (see *In These Times*, March 13). He included a handwritten statement of his resistance to military buildup on each and an invitation to IRS officials: "I invite each of you to resign from the collection of military taxes and to join in working for a disarmed world. If you want to talk about this, call me evenings at...."

Though Meyer's scheme has not netted any converts among the IRS, he sees it as a way of shaking up a complacent public. Some of his earlier tax resistance innovations have taken hold across the country, including the boycott of the telephone excise tax that he helped popularize and the practice of claiming large numbers of dependents to beat the employee withholding tax.

Meyer refuses to pay a cent of the penalties he owes and may soon be summoned to court. The threat of jail doesn't deter Meyer—he's already spent months in jail for tax resistance and for civil disobedience. And though he misses using the trailer and the station wagon for his mobile demonstrations, his pragmatic side allows that the wagon was "only worth \$75 anyway"—a lot less than the monthly upkeep has cost lately.

Lone Star allegiance

The Texas National Guard will send 450 of its members to the Honduran-Nicaraguan border April 1



to join the U.S. and Honduran military in Big Pine III exercises. The Guardsmen will play the enemy in a simulated anti-armored invasion exercise. Fifty-seven percent of the Texans are Hispanic.

The participation of that many members of a National Guard in a Big Pines exercise is unusual—the only precedent was in 1983 when Puerto Rico sent members of its National Guard. It's reported that California Gov. George Deukmajian was also approached by the military—the California National Guard has 2,107 Hispanics—but he turned the offer down and will not comment on the request to the press.

The military's maneuver did not go unnoticed in Texas. State Sen. Gonzalez Barrientos (D-Austin) opposed Gov. Mark White's okay and wondered why the guard selected a majority of Hispanics from those who volunteered for the exercise. "Is it to see how they will stand up against an enemy that looks and speaks like they do?" The Senator and a coalition of church groups, including the Texas Conference of Churches and the American Friends Service Committee, were also concerned that the deployment of the Guard was a not-so-subtle signal that Texans are gung-ho about Reagan's Central American policy. Throughout the controversy, Gov. White assured Texans that the Guardsmen would be safe—apparently, his major concern—and tried to stem the opposition by claiming that the participation should not be seen as a message on Central American policy.

Meanwhile, the Guardsmen are gearing up for the exercise and, according to their public affairs officer, their morale is "sky high." Capt. Ernulfo Esqueda, one of the members selected, waxed expansively about the opportunity: "We look at it as a bonus for being a good unit. We look at it as an adventure." When asked about the political situation in Central America, he said, "Those people aren't happy with the government of

Nicaragua. A lot of their freedoms are being taken away."

Socialist success stories

Once portrayed as a dangerous radical, Jean-Pierre Chevenement is the darling of the French conservatives now that he is championing a return to the three Rs as Minister of Education. Instead of the pedagogic experiments that gained ground after May '68, Chevenement wants schools to get children to do homework and memorize historical dates. This is no switch; Chevenement, whose parents were school teachers, has always had conservative views about teaching. Tough competition in school should prepare the French for the cutthroat international competition threatening France's national independence, according to Chevenement. The former leader of the Socialist Party's left-wing faction CERES no longer talks about socialism but defines his vision of France's future as the "Modern Republic"—the slogan of Pierre Mendes-France 30 years ago.

A more startling success story is that of Regis Debray, who gained world fame by a bungled contact with Che Guevara that landed him in a Bolivian prison and by a tragically erroneous analysis of *The Revolution in the Revolution* in Latin America. After a spell of letting Mitterrand pick his brain in the Elysee Palace, Debray, at age 44, has just been named to the *Conseil d'Etat*, the most ancient of French state institutions which is both the supreme court and an advisory body. Debray's arrival at this summit is not totally shocking: he comes from what is called a good family and has been recently rediscovering his patriotism.

This week's contributors: David Butts and Diana Johnstone

IN THE NATION



Ted Gray

Black Democrats clash on tactics

By Salim Muwakkil

WHEN ROLAND BURRIS WAS running in the Illinois primary as one of four Democratic candidates for the U.S. Senate seat of Charles Percy, he made a curious appearance at Louis Farrakhan's Savior's Day 1984 convention. Burris, the Illinois comptroller and one of the few black politicians in the U.S. to hold a state-wide office, seemed decidedly out of place at such an anti-establishment gathering. But the Black Muslims had just announced their involvement in electoral politics and he needed black votes.

In a transparent attempt to engage the predominantly black crowd, Burris employed a speaking style that borrowed heavily from the cadences and inflections of black preachers. The style was altogether ill-suited for the normally staid Burris, however, and his attempt at a kind of ethnic eloquence soon collapsed into mimicry. But he continued unabated and, apparently, unembarrassed; he needed the votes.

Burris' recent speech at a Democratic confab in Atlantic City was, according to reports, much more in line with his natural, low-key style. He had come to the New Jersey resort town to put the Democrats' minds at ease following his election to the vice chair of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in a controversial contest that pitted him against the former vice chair, Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher (Jesse Jackson's national campaign chairman last year). In sober tones, he assured his colleagues that confrontation would not be his way.

"I'm a coalition builder," Burris told the group, drawing a clear distinction between his style and that of the Jackson-Hatcher wing. "My office is an office of the entire party," he said, "not just the black caucus." Burris' speech warmed the hearts of anxious Democrats everywhere and generated a spate of approving editorials.

"If Burris didn't exist, the Democratic Party would have invented someone exactly like him," one top Jackson aide theorizes.

"You might say he's become the Clarence Pendleton of the Democrats."

Burris won his DNC post by subverting the traditional caucus system. Hatcher had narrowly defeated Burris in the black caucus vote and in the past the caucus endorsement was tantamount to election. But Burris declined to step down after losing to Hatcher and, defying the caucus, made his pitch for the vice chair before the full committee.

Bitter in defeat, Hatcher called Burris a "Judas" and a "John Wilkes Booth." This prompted *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Vernon Jarrett to question Hatcher's grandiose self-assessment. "When people begin equating themselves to Jesus or to the Great Emancipator, it may just be time for them to step back and reevaluate things," Jarrett notes. "We must keep in mind the fact that Hatcher was no great shakes as a Democratic leader."

But Hatcher's acute sense of betrayal was apparently shared by blacks across the country. A nationwide chorus of denuncia-

"The Democratic Party is involved in a struggle between 'cause men' and bread-and-butter politicians for control of the party."

tion greeted Burris' maneuver.

Jackson himself charged the election of Burris was a "violation of the integrity of the caucus system." That system is important, he insisted, because it gives blacks a means of choosing their own leadership and agenda. He said reserving the vice chair for a black picked by the caucus "allows their views to have a direct pipeline to the party leadership." Jackson accused newly elected DNC Chairman Paul G. Krik Jr. of trying to attract white male voters by undermining the caucus system to "prove they can be tough on blacks." The former presidential candidate has consistently charged that the Democrats' all-out attempt to woo disaffected whites is causing the party to turn away from its most loyal constituency, the black community.

Although most black politicians publicly criticized Burris, many privately concede that his conciliatory style may make the most sense in the current political climate. In fact, the more thoughtful of them realize that the limits of black caucus politics are fast approaching, since most of the legislative districts with black populations large enough to elect black representatives have already done so. Any additional electoral gains blacks make will have to come in areas where whites make up a sizable portion of the electorate.

Some black politicians, like Mayors Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and Coleman Young of Detroit, contend that Burris' election is the wave of the coalition-oriented future, and that the sooner blacks rid themselves of the crusader mentality embodied in Jackson's style of politics, the better off they'll be. Many in this school believe that Jackson's presidential campaign was racially divisive and essentially damaging to black interests. For them, the election of Burris is a clear repudiation of Jackson's strident approach. It's time to lay low, they counsel.

The "cause people."

But pragmatic political considerations don't excite many of the young, aggressive types who were brought into the political arena by the activist tenor of the Jackson candi-

Roland Burris (above), the recently elected vice chair of the DNC. Burris and Jesse Jackson during happier days.

dacy. Some more experienced politicians are of like mind. "If blacks lay any lower in the Democratic Party, we'll be in China," says Georgia State Senator Julian Bond.

"Blacks have gotten far more in this country through agitation than conciliation," read an editorial on the election of Burris in the black-owned *Chicago Metro-News*, "simply because the latter has, in effect, too often amounted to nothing more than capitulation. Those who overly emphasize conciliation are those most inclined to sell out or accept far less than what is due those whom they represent. In the game of power, conciliation more often than not serves the interests of the powerful elite far more than it does the powerless," the editorial read.

"What we're seeing in this Burris-Hatcher thing is an example of the classical split between black accommodationists and black radicals that periodically bubbles to the surface in the struggle of blacks for justice in this country," says *Newsweek's* Monroe Anderson, who's reported extensively on both Burris and Hatcher over the years. He argues that though Hatcher had many problems, Burris was wrong for ignoring the caucus tradition and for shamelessly exploiting the situation. But, he adds, "Burris was the perfect person for the perfect post at the perfect time."

Political analyst Richard Scammon contends that the Democratic Party itself is currently undergoing a similar crises, a basic struggle between what he calls the "cause people" and the bread-and-butter politicians for control of the party. "The great dilemma nationally of the Democratic Party is that it is trying to be a party and a cause at the same time," Scammon argues. "And a party, by definition, is a middle-of-the-road, compromising, let-me-make-you-a-deal-you-can't-refuse type of organization. It has to be to get the 50 million votes you need to elect a president." According to Scammon, "cause people" are not people who are trying to win polit-

Continued on page 22

By David Moberg

PLATTSBURG, MO

THIS IS A VERY SAD DAY FOR me." Seventy-three-year-old Perry Wilson, seed corn cap on his head and quilted jacket over his bib overalls, looked out at the crowd of nearly 500 farmers and union workers who had gathered in front of the new red brick courthouse in this northwestern Missouri town of 2,108.

The early spring sun took the nip out of the air and highlighted the ruddy, rounded features of the elder Wilson, who had spent his lifetime farming and had hoped in recent years to have given two of his sons a chance to continue in his footsteps. But on Friday, March 15, those years of toil threatened to crash before him. At 2:00 p.m. the Federal Land Bank, a publicly chartered but private farm lending institution, was foreclosing on his mortgage and putting nearly all of Wilson's land up for sale.

"The only thing that encourages me is seeing all these people here who are supporting me," he continued calmly from the truckbed speakers' platform. "That eases the pain. I feel like I just wonder what I worked 52 years for. I have fed a world of people in my 52 years of work, and this reward I'm getting from these politicians and money-grabbers, land-grabbers or whatever you want to call them is really disappointing. I feel that our government, if we have a government, has disowned the American farmer.

"You know," he continued, "the American farmer is a fighter. They started at the beginning of this country. Six men held off the British army at the Concord bridge, the first shot that was heard around the world. If they can do that, we can do something about this deal we're in."

In 1933, in the depths of the Depression, another group of 500 farmers had gathered in Plattsburg to stop the sale of a farm. In the ensuing "foreclosure riot," they seized the federal marshal and three of his aides, holding them until the time of the sale had passed. Shortly afterward Franklin Roosevelt declared a farm foreclosure moratorium.

Ronald Reagan, unfortunately, is not Roosevelt, but the crowd was ready to make history by stopping the sale and giving momentum to state and federal moratorium proposals. It was the initial action of Missouri Groundswell, an amalgam of most previously existing farm organizations in the state (except the Farm Bureau). Organizers hoped that with the new name, borrowed from a Minnesota movement, they could leave behind them any "baggage" of the previous organizations that hindered farmer unity.

In the crowd there were local farmers and farmers from Iowa, Nebraska and other parts of Missouri, some of them beneficiaries of earlier fights against foreclosure who had discovered the importance of collective action. There were teenage Future Farmers of America, still dreaming of farming despite the hardship they joined in protesting. There were around 150 United Auto Workers members from around the state, some of them employed at distressed farm equipment firms, and a sprinkling of other union members. There were black community activists from Kansas City, Mo., a little more than a half-hour to the south.

They heard the Wilsons' neighbor, Beverly Campbell, speak on their behalf: "I think everyone here ought to be aware of what hard-working farmers they are. They represent the farmers of America. If we all don't stick together and unite throughout from state to state, we are in trouble. Some of us may not be now, but we could be next."

And they heard Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance and a Nebraska farmer who has also suffered deep losses, talk about how the rules of the game had been stacked against them and how they, like trained bulls led around on a little rope, did not realize they had the power to break away.

"When you go in to sell Cargill your

grain, what kind of poker game is it where three people sit around each with \$100 and the other has \$100,000?" Hansen asked. "Who's going to win that game? Even if everything is equal, the one with \$100,000 also has the opportunity to change the test weight, to change the quality of grain, to change the dockage for moisture, to change the rules of the game. It is no fair game, and our government today is tragically in the business of enforcing a game [Budget Director] David Stockman called survival of the fittest. You know what that is? 'Everyone for himself,' the elephant shouted as he danced among the chickens."

Then, as 2:00 p.m. drew closer, they moved into the doorway of the courthouse. The glass doors opened, and a phalanx of 25 state highway patrolmen, reinforced by 18 sheriffs and local policemen from various towns, tried to force their way out. But the crowd pushed back, chanting relentlessly at full volume, "No sale, no sale, no sale!"

No matter how hard the grim-faced patrolmen pushed outward, the surging crowd pushed back harder. Completely drowned by the noise, a trustee for the Land Bank announced the sale—which by law is supposed to take place on the courthouse steps so that anyone interested could bid, conditions that were never met.

At 2:13, after nothing but "no sale" had been heard, a cop called out, "The sale is over." Perry Wilson, Jr., 42, like his



Mark Hinojosa



Mark Hinojosa

AGRICULTURE

Farmers fight back to save their land

brother, father and stepmother—who fainted in the crush—had been on the front lines should back, "The sale is illegal." In the melee, police began swinging fists and jabbing with clubs. The older Wilson was slammed against a wall, and several protesters were wrestled to the ground. Eight people were arrested but, after intervention by a state legislator, no charges were filed.

The Land Bank itself had submitted a written bid—the only one—for \$312,000 for the 700 acres. It was the amount that Wilson owed plus sale expenses. In one sense, Wilson was lucky. At some sales the Land Bank had been the sole bidder, had offered less than the debt owed and then had turned around and sued the farmer for "deficiency payment." Yet at less than \$450 an acre, it was a far cry from the \$1,500 an acre someone offered Wilson in the late '70s. With his house and remaining

small acreage faced with foreclosure by another bank on April 8, Wilson could be wiped out—no home, no income, no savings, no pension, no Social Security (as a farmer he would have received benefits calculated on his last five years' earnings, during which time he has had nothing but losses).

Wilson's story.

"I started in 1932 for myself," Wilson said before the sale. "But I was born and raised on a farm and helped my father all the time as I grew up." At one point he had nearly 1,100 acres, but during the past decade he sold around 300 acres to reduce debts. He had not bought land when it was at its peak, but he had expanded to make room for his sons, never paying more than \$325 an acre. Together they built up a modern hog-rearing facility capable of raising 3,000 hogs a year from piglets to marketplace and

added a Harvstore to keep high-moisture grain for the 500 cattle they fed each year.

But prices for the past five years have been low for most of what they produced. They laid off relatives and other workers, increased their own hours of work, relied on worn-out equipment, like the dilapidated pick-up truck driven by Randy Wilson, 31, a graduate of agricultural college.

"You can put in all the hours you want and cut costs," lamented Randy, who had hoped to see his children continue on the farm, some of which had been in his family since 1901. "I've put together hog feeders that should have been junk, cut out medications, cut all the costs I could, and it still doesn't do any good. Last year, for every hog that left my farm I lost \$10 to \$15 a head on it."

Several farmers and agricultural advisors in the area said that the Wilsons had a reputation as hard-working, thrifty farmers who had not expanded or modernized lavishly and managed their affairs well. But a combination of bad weather and continued low prices over five years had done them in.

"I wouldn't have been farming for 52 years if I hadn't been a good manager," Wilson said, cataloging a life on the farm that sounded like a Woody Guthrie talking blues song. "I went through those other droughts in the '30s, droughts in the '50s, droughts in the '70s. I've been hailed out, flooded out, burned out by droughts, lost \$100,000 one time on cattle, \$60,000



Mark Hinojosa

(Above left) Perry Wilson speaks to supporter at foreclosure sale of his farm. (Left) farmers chant "No sale!" as police push them back.

another year. Yet I always came back.

"But, brother, you can't come back the last five years," he continued. "There's no way. Since 1979, it's been low commodity prices—costs too high for what we were selling. That's the whole story. Anybody in debt is going to be gone if it stays the same way. For some it will take a little longer, but finally it will gulp them all up. We've been operating 20 years or more below parity [a yardstick, adjusted for changing productivity and costs, of how farm income compares to urban workers' income]. And for a fellow like me, it's just used up all our equity. Then you borrow against it and get in debt, and then you can't service the debt."

Eighteen months ago Wilson fell behind in interest payments on a mortgage he had taken on his land to provide operating expenses. Last summer he temporarily sought refuge in bankruptcy, but when a financing plan fell through, he could not demonstrate a positive cash flow—a balance of income over expenses. In February the Land Bank mailed him a notice of sale. It refused, Wilson claims, to meet with him and did not grant him due process, which includes a requirement that he be advised of his rights of appeal and be offered deferral, reamortization or forbearance as alternatives.

Daryl Oldvader, president of the St. Joseph, Mo., Federal Land Bank, told *In These Times* that "foreclosure is regrettable." Yet, "there comes a time when you have to separate emotion from fact and make a good business decision," he argued. He had to guarantee that other borrowers did not subsidize bad loans and that the institution itself stayed sound, he said. But the bank did not get its money back from the sale. According to Oldvader, now it will probably have to rent the land, since almost nobody is buying land. Yet that renter will face the same wretched market that the Wilsons would have. How is the bank better off?

"Our situation is changed," he argued. "We're in a landlord-tenant relationship, and we have some income. You have some options you don't have as a lender."

Throughout the Midwest, banks, insurance companies and other mortgage holders are increasingly holding and renting foreclosed land, trying to squeeze more water out of a dry stone, usually unwilling—whether able or not—to absorb even small write-downs of interest to help troubled farmers keep their land.

Faced with Reagan's veto of the emergency farm credit bill, many farmers are scrambling in desperation to find operating loans

to plant their crops this spring. Traditional banks and the Production Credit Associations (PCA), federally chartered but private institutions linked to the Land Banks, are turning down applicants. The Minnesota Department of Agriculture estimates that 10 to 15 percent of farmers will not receive loans this year. In Ohio farmers are being steered to the Farm and Home Administration (FmHA), but the backlog is so great that clerks are now only getting to applications filed in mid-January.

Recent statistics on farm financial stress have been chilling, but because they include the very small "hobby farms" they often understate the stress for the family-sized commercial farms. A recent report by the U.S. Department of Agriculture showed nearly one-third of these farms were highly leveraged—that is, holding debt equal to 40 percent or more of their assets. But with farmland prices still plummeting, in many areas at least 10 percent a year, and with forced sales and foreclosures pulling the bottom out from even that asset base, the potential for severe stress accelerates daily.

That is especially true when prices remain below the average cost of production, guaranteeing that in the struggle to pay debts many farmers will simply fall farther behind. For example, the Ohio Department of Agriculture estimates that one-fourth of the state's farmers will go out of business this year through foreclosure, bankruptcy or voluntary liquidation. Burt Wehmeyer, a veteran administrator of federal programs in Missouri, said that from 1957 to 1982 he saw four or five bankruptcies connected with loan programs of the Commodity Credit Corporation. Now he is servicing 350, with another five to 10 arriving each week.

"The only thing I can compare this to for the general public is the crash of '29," said Logan McGinness, a prominent Lathrop, Mo., farmer and one-time Democratic congressional candidate, who joined the Wilson family protest. "We're having our own crash right now by ourselves. This is the abyss—and there seems to be no floor under this drop. This is a free-fall."

The crash has accelerated state legislative action. Some of the most common proposals are subsidies to banks to lower farm operating loan interest rates, foreclosure moratoria, minimum price legislation (once a sufficient number of states passed similar laws, no farm commodities could be sold or traded at less than 80 percent of parity) and other protection for farm borrowers.

Both Ohio and Minnesota have passed bills to provide lower interest loans, but they are token efforts. Minnesota agriculture department spokesman Bob Swanson said his state's effort was "like spit on a hot stove to the actual demand out there." Minnesota Republican state Sen. Charles Berg, who quit the Republican Party a few weeks ago, has pressed hard for a statewide moratorium, which also has a reasonable chance in Missouri and passed the Iowa senate agricultural committee in a weak form. The Minnesota legislature is also moving to delay property tax, to eliminate sales tax on farm machinery and parts, and to provide interest deferrals for new farmers receiving help under a special state program.

In Ohio, farm advocates are pressing for better bank reporting on bad loans, for outlawing cognovit notes (a commonplace requirement that farmers give up in advance all rights to court filings and appeals concerning their loans, which were outlawed for consumers by the federal government more than a decade ago), and a "right of redemption" bill that would allow the victim of a foreclosure or bankruptcy two years to try to redeem his property. Illinois legislators are considering loan guarantees and advances to farmers for interest payments.

Yet, as Swanson admits, "all these devices are just a means of trying to get a message to Washington that there is a very deep crisis out here. It's scary as hell. Now there is a problem of home foreclosures as well that is a spinoff of the layoffs, farm foreclosures and factory closings. Lenders don't seem to realize that if they continue to write off and liquidate farm loans,

they're leaving valueless their whole asset basis."

In early April farm advocates will introduce in Congress a major alternative to the Reagan farm bill that has been put together by dozens of farm groups and leaders working in conjunction with Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower and Minnesota Agriculture Commissioner Jim Nichols as well as several members of Congress, including Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin.

Reform Act of 1985.

The Farm Policy Reform Act of 1985 is a dramatic, comprehensive reform that restores the best of long-gutted New Deal agricultural policy with a contemporary twist. The heart of the legislation is federal government intervention in the marketplace to guarantee a minimum price to cover at least the cost of production. As a corollary, the government would regulate supply, in conjunction with a producer referendum, to avoid overproduction. That would eliminate all subsidy payments from the federal treasury.

But the act would target benefits to family farmers by requiring a higher percentage of land to be taken out of production by

Read one placard at a Missouri rally: "We've raised crops to feed the world. We can raise hell to shake the world!"

the larger operators. This set-aside of land would have the side benefits of enriching the soil and cutting back the rapidly increasing loss of topsoil, but there would be additional conservation measures. Instead of current disaster loans and payments, farmers would pay a portion of each year's production as an "insurance premium" into a farmers' disaster reserve. There would also be a moratorium on forced liquidation by government lenders, a major restructuring of farm debt and reform of federal lenders to protect family farmers.

As the minimum for farm prices is raised, government reserves would be sold in times of shortage to prevent price surges. But the bill also provides increased funding for humanitarian aid to hungry nations ultimately aimed at promoting their agricultural self-sufficiency. And it calls for stronger support for Food Stamps and nutritional programs for mothers, children and the elderly.

Not only would such legislation greatly raise farm income, providing the key solution to the current crisis, but also it would be less costly to the government than Reagan's program and increase the value of exports significantly more (although cutting the actual volume somewhat). Consumers would pay more, even though in some products it would be barely noticeable—a few cents more a loaf of bread, but perhaps a 25 percent increase in meat prices. Ultimately the percentage of consumer spending for food might increase from 16 percent to 18 percent, still far below the proportion paid in all other industrialized countries. But after that one-time increase, food costs should stabilize. Public opinion polls show as many as four-fifths of Americans willing to pay extra to help out farmers, a remarkable show of support.

The crescendo of protest, however, is what is most likely to bring unreliable Democrats in line and to inspire threatened Midwest Republicans to support such legislation. Last week, as the Department of Agriculture tried to downplay its traditional Agriculture Day, protesters around the country were staging actions—a rally in Lubbock, Texas; a farm unity demonstration—including the Farm Bureau with the liberal; and left farm groups—at the state capitol in Ohio; a foreclosure on the Des

Moines, Iowa, federal building and many more. Last Tuesday, the entire town of Grand Meadow, Minn., shut down schools, businesses and every other activity for an afternoon to show what a continuing farm crisis would mean for rural small towns.

The day before, in Glenwood, Minn., nearly 1,000 farmers and union members rallied to support former state American Agricultural Movement President Jim Langman. Shouting "No sale, no sale!" for an hour, they forced the sheriff to abandon the sale of Langman's farm on behalf of Travelers Insurance Co. Within the last few weeks other sales have been stopped, including one in Nebraska where farmers swarmed through a courthouse and another in Kansas where a farm wife grabbed the sale papers out of the sheriff's hand. In Appleton, Minn., protesters stopped a sale by pushing a sheriff back into the courthouse, then moved on to occupy a nearby Federal Land Bank office.

Like the names of their loose movements—Groundswell and Prairie Fire—there have been eruptions throughout the Midwest, often sparked and led by veterans of other farm protests but increasingly drawing local support. In almost every case, union members—especially United Auto Workers members—have been crucial shock troops and welcome allies.

Such links have broadened the political perspective of the farm movement and undercut attempts by the right to capitalize on farm discontent. (In Iowa the apparently feeble effort by Teamsters to appeal to farmers was made by leaders who are said to have close links to Lyndon LaRouche's ultra-right U.S. Labor Party, which has worked closely in the past with Teamster President Jackie Presser. At the Wilson rally, one Larouche supporter distributed copies of the Executive Intelligence Review purporting to show how the new farm protest groups were controlled by—running down from the top—the Benedictine Order, various churches, a group of European "family trusts and Russian counterparts," capitalist and Russian grain dealers, and a grabbag of right and left-wing foundations.) For example, Missouri Groundswell leader Roger Allison argues, "When we get political power to demand parity pricing, we will get political power to stop injustices against blacks and against unions and other working people."

But most troubled farmers do not have the will to stand up and face the public scrutiny as did Perry Wilson, a longtime supporter of the National Farmers Organization. "They've been beat down," Allison said. "They feel ashamed. They feel it's their fault."

Farmer-politician Logan McGinness, 59, who recently took a Chapter 11 bankruptcy to prevent foreclosure on his 1,100-acre cattle and grain farm, had a further explanation for why more of Wilson's neighbors did not show up. "A lot of [local farmers] don't want to get involved," he said. "They're fearful they'll upset their lenders. This is March. Next month we've all got to have money to plant our crop. It's like walking on thin ice. If they do anything to upset the bank, the PCA, or anyone, they're dead as a farmer. That's why they're not here, but they're sympathetic."

And reflecting on their vaunted individualism, he added, "They don't feel the brotherhood of farming as much as the challenge of it. It's hard to bring them together."

Yet the example of the Perry Wilson family, the growth of the farm movement and its alliances, and the deepening crisis may convince more farmers of the merit in the advice on one placard at the Wilson rally: "We've raised crops to feed the world. We can raise Hell to shake the world!" Unlike many other farmers, Wilson does not wallow in quiet, gnawing turmoil of self-reckoning. Instead he wonders why the federal government can bail out Chrysler, New York City, Continental Bank and foreign countries but not farmers like himself. "It wasn't our fault," he said after the sale he plans to contest. "They asked us to feed the world and then treat us like this. We were led down a path with just a cliff to jump off at the end of the road." ■

NORTH CAROLINA

Klan files suit against CWP

By Carole and Paul Bass

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

KU KLUX KLANSMEN ON TRIAL here have found a novel way to swing back at their accusers: a countersuit based on the Anti-Ku Klux Klan Act of 1875. It is believed to be the first time Klansmen have ever used the Reconstruction-era legislation—designed to protect newly freed blacks from Klan attacks—in their own behalf.

A federal judge refused to dismiss the Klan's counterclaims as jury selection began March 11 in a \$48-million civil rights suit stemming from the 1979 "Greensboro Massacre." Called by one attorney "the civil rights trial of the '80s," the suit charges 60 Klansmen, Nazis and law-enforcement agents with conspiring to launch an attack that led to the shooting deaths of five Communist Workers Party (CWP) demonstrators at a "Death to the Klan" rally.

Fifteen of those defendants, all Klan or Nazi Party members, filed the countersuits. As their statutory basis they cite Title 42, Section 1985(3) of the U.S. Civil Code,

popularly known as the Anti-Ku Klux Klan Act when Congress passed it. The act prohibits harassment under a conspiracy to violate an individual's civil rights.

Usually plaintiffs must prove the defendant sought to harass them out of racial motivation. But the judge has allowed the CWP plaintiffs to base their case partly on the charge of political motivation—that the Klansmen and Nazis attacked them out of anti-Communism. So the Nazis and Klansmen argue that they can sue on grounds of political motivation, too.

They charge that the CWP lured them into a confrontation and hit their cars with sticks. "I was attacked on a public street while exercising my right to free expression," said Nazi defendant Roland Wayne Wood, a six-foot-two, 285-pound security guard who showed up at court in a T-shirt reading "Eat lead, you lousy red!"

The plaintiffs—survivors of those killed at the 1979 rally, and others injured or arrested that day—reacted with both legal and moral outrage.

"Our husbands were killed in front of TV cameras. Now the people who killed them are suing us for violating their civil

rights," said Dale Sampson.

Michael Friedman, representing the National Lawyers Guild, said the judge ignored the original intent of the law and should have disallowed the countersuit. "Those statutes were passed by Congress with the specific intention of protecting people from attacks by the Klan," he said at a press conference outside the U.S. District Courthouse here. "For the court then to permit the Klan and Nazis to use this statute, directed at them and their kind, is to turn history, law and justice on their heads."

Larry Yackle, a constitutional law expert at Boston University Law School, called the Klan's use of the statute ironic and "rather amusing." But he and other legal experts said in interviews that while Klan members have never used the statute before, they are fully within their rights.

The judge, Robert R. Merhige Jr., also came under fire last week for his method of picking a jury. It's a touchy subject because all-white juries—including members who called killing Communists "less of a crime"—acquitted the Nazi and Klan gunmen in two previous criminal trials.



Danny Lyons/The Movement/LNS

The suit is based on 1875 legislation.

Merhige was flown in from Virginia especially to hear the case. He had a liberal reputation for his decisions in controversial school desegregation cases; he came here vowing to pick an unbiased jury within a couple of days. He didn't. After a week he still hadn't filled the pool of 38 prospective jurors. And he found himself—much to the chagrin of the plaintiffs—qualifying potential jurors who said Communists "should move to Russia" because "our forefathers died to eliminate the word."

The plaintiffs have repeatedly asked the judge to move the trial. They claim they can't get a fair trial in a state with the highest estimated Klan membership (1,600, according to the National Anti-Klan Network). And they point to a recent survey in which 97.6 of the area residents polled had heard about the case. A majority said they wouldn't award the plaintiffs damages even if the evidence supported their case.

Merhige took the plaintiffs' request "under advisement," but decided, at least for now, to keep the case in North Carolina. While discouraged, the plaintiffs are still hoping that even an anti-Communist jury, upon hearing the wealth of new evidence uncovered in pre-trial discovery (see *In These Times*, March 20), will render a fair verdict in their "first and last chance for justice."

Carole and Paul Bass head Cooperative News Service based in New Haven, Conn.

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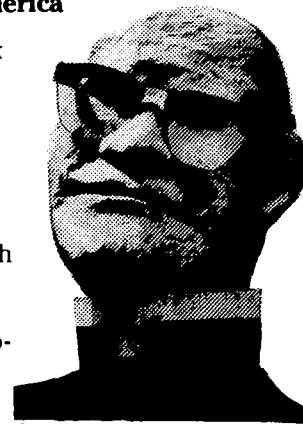
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By Tariq Ali

IN EARLY MARCH, PAKISTAN HELD the first elections for its National Assembly since 1977. The last Assembly was disbanded on the day that ruling General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq proclaimed martial law eight years ago, and it has not met since.

Opposition parties boycotted the elections, seeing them as a farce. So the Zia dictatorship's main objective was to ensure a reasonable voter turnout. The largely tame candidates made sure their supporters showed up, but it was the civil servants in the countryside who dragged people out to vote. The real question, however, is not how many people voted, but why the Pentagon's favorite Asian dictator felt it necessary to stage an election in the first place. There was no significant pressure from the State Department in Washington. Actually, the Pentagon prefers a military regime in Pakistan, believing, with good reason, that any civilian government would reach an accommodation with the Soviet Union and settle the Afghanistan question.

Gen. Zia's desire to achieve some legitimacy for his rule, however fraudulent and tenuous, was motivated by the explosive situation building up inside the Pakistan army.

The most important event in Pakistan in recent weeks was not the surreal National Assembly elections but the secret ongoing trial of more than 100 military officers in the Attock Fort. The trial, which up to now has not received detailed coverage in the Western press, is a test of the dictatorship. The officers under trial are charged with the most serious offense in the book: "conspiring to overthrow the government by force." The fact that this was how Zia himself came to power is only one of the case's many ironies.

Revolt for democracy.

During the second half of 1983 the people of Sind sparked off a movement against the

More than 100 officers are charged with "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force."

dictatorship that was brutally crushed by the army. Hundreds of Sindhis, a minority nationality in Punjabi-dominated Pakistan, were killed, several hundred were subjected to torture and thousands were placed in prison without trial. At one stage it appeared as though the revolt for democracy would spread to the Punjab. At that time several senior army officers wrote private letters to Zia, politely suggesting that perhaps the time had come for a transfer of power to the politicians.

In September 1983 the letters were sent on to the Directorate of Inter-Services Intelligence in Islamabad. The dissident officers began to meet informally during the movement in Sind. What they were planning was not a *coup d'etat* but an organized and concerted refusal to obey orders if they were instructed to shoot demonstrators in the event of the movement spreading to the Punjab. The coterie of senior officers who run Pakistan decided that it was crucial to weed out every democratically-inclined dissident in the armed forces as soon as possible. Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) was given the go-ahead to plan a "conspiracy" to trap the dissident officers. Thus, the planning stage had begun.

The entire operation was masterminded by the director-general of the ISI, Lt. Gen. Akhtar Abdul Rehman Khan. It was Akhtar who had, as commander of a crack infantry division, pledged his loyalty to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the country's last elected leader, one year before the Zia coup of July 1977. And it was Akhtar who had led his commandos to storm the prime minister's house

on July 5, 1977. He was assisted throughout by Brigadier Imtiaz, known as the "Blue-eyed Jackal."

The following were ISI's aims:

- to "prove" that the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) of executed Prime Minister Bhutto was involved in planning sabotage and arson;

- to implicate India in the plot and present the PPP as instruments of New Delhi;

- to divert attention from Indo-Soviet allegations of the junta's arming and training of Sikh militants from neighboring India (several training camps had been established in Pakistan for this purpose);

- to purge the army of malcontents and democrats;

- to lay the basis for a supreme court ruling to declare PPP politics and "Bhuttoism" alien to Pakistan and ban them permanently; and

- to identify the dissident officers and physically eliminate them, while claiming that a coup attempt had been forestalled.

The trap.

The plan was to place agents within the ranks of the dissident officers, organize them into a loose "study group," plant Indian ammunition on them and then arrest or kill them. ISI decided to use a well-known Pakistani smuggler-millionaire, Seth Abid, to arrange for a cache of Indian arms and explosives. Abid, a close friend of Zia, agreed to be the conduit, and he was accordingly introduced to dissident officers as a man with influence who could be useful in the future.

Within five months after the plan was first conceived, the Blue-eyed Jackal had prepared a list of 1,000 army officers from whom the dissidents could be selected. It was culled from intelligence files and all the officers named were said to be hostile to Zia, to the continuation of martial law and to the large-scale corruption (especially in relation to heroin smuggling) that had tainted the army. One hundred names were picked from the larger list. The Jackal was instructed to tell agent provocateurs to "harness, identify and streamline" the dissidents.

The last act was meant for Lahore, the largest city close to the Indian border. Gen. Akhtar himself visited several possible sites for staging the "coup attempt." The operation was code-named "The Hangman's Second Rope" (referring to Bhutto, who had been dealt with by the "first rope").

In Lahore only Col. Yamin was taken into complete confidence in early December 1983. The operation was scheduled for the night of Dec. 23, 1983, but intelligence telephone tappers heard two dissident officers expressing their doubts about coming to Lahore. They told each other that something strange was going on. Akhtar panicked. The officers were sent away on official business and the operation was postponed until Jan. 3-4, 1984. Then on Jan. 1, 1984, the troops involved in the plan were that told they were needed to crush a "blood-thirsty gang of anti-Pakistan conspirators." Large-scale arrests were planned in cantonments and naval and air force bases throughout the country at the same time.

The last-minute schedule change had an odd effect. The place of the dissidents' meeting was changed from the affluent Lahore suburb of Gulberg to Nawan Kot. Seth Abid's men brought their consignment of arms and explosives to the new location in great haste.

As a veteran drug trafficker, Abid is said to be "Mr. Big" in the smuggling of hashish and heroin to Europe and America from Pakistan. His men accidentally picked

up 12 boxes containing a quarter-ton of pure Pakistani hashish and planted these with similar boxes that contained arms and ammunition. The whole operation was botched by Abid's clumsiness. Thus there were boxes containing safety fuses, but no explosives; there were 12 sub-machine guns of 7.62 calibre, but the ammunition for these was of 9mm calibre.

And there were other problems as well. Only six dissidents had been informed of the change of venue for their supposed "social evening," and just three had turned up. The Sind uprising had been crushed. The Punjab was quiet and many officers felt that, for the time being, the storm was over. Three officers—Squadron Leader Tahir Maqsood, Maj. Nisar Hussain Bokhari and Maj. Sadiq Abdullah—were guided to the new location by ISI agent Maj. Shahid. This was a man who had been cashiered from the army for corruption, but had been re-employed in intelligence because of his close affinities to the Jamaat-i-Islami (a fundamentalist Muslim sect).

At 7:00 p.m. Maj. Shahis brought three dissidents to the trap, directing them through the gate and then disappearing into a side lane. Confused, the three officers decided to stay at the gate and wait for him. Then, without warning, they were greeted

by a rain of bullets as Col. Yamin's 10-man squad opened fire. The dissidents fell to the ground and Maj. Bokhari was seriously wounded. Three passersby were killed by the gunfire.

The event was proclaimed to be a conspiracy that had been nipped in the bud. Others were arrested as well. More than 70 military officers were taken into custody and 100 civilians, including women and children, were initially detained. A lawyer who knew some of the officers was also arrested.

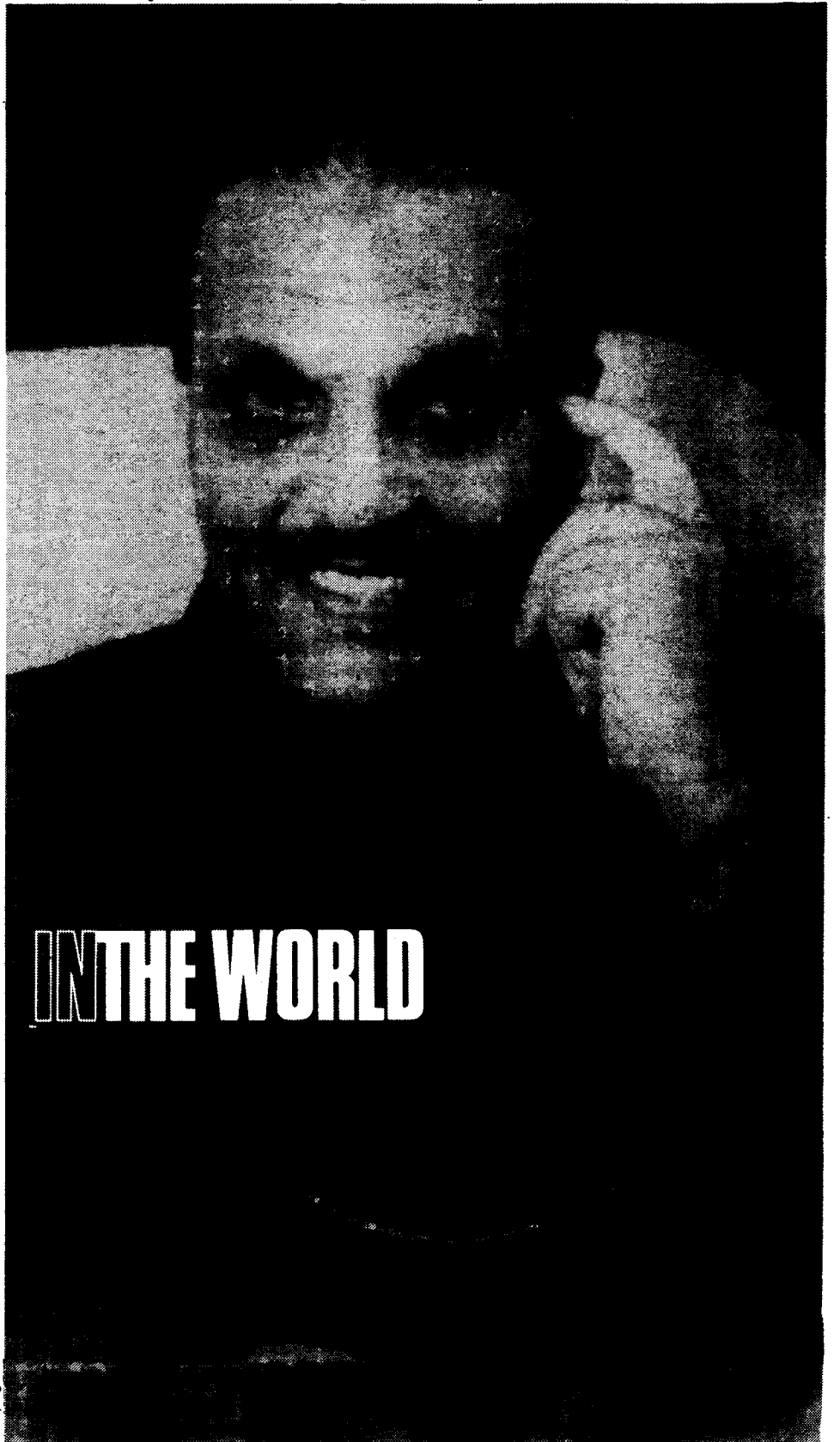
The imprisoned officers were kept in total isolation in tiny underground cells. At regular intervals they were blindfolded and strapped to ice-blocks, given electric shocks, whipped, denied food, sunlight, fresh air and bathing facilities. Several officers suffered serious collapses after torture. All of them suffered a loss of eyesight and many developed diseases. Their medical reports were destroyed at the Special Intelligence Bureau on the orders of Maj. Tariq Afzal and Maj. Masud.

The confessions.

As a result of the tortures, the intelligence agencies obtained their "confessions," which were videotaped. A tame magistrate, Karam Elahi Beg, was brought in to hear

Continued on page 22

That Gen. Zia felt it necessary to stage elections points to his regime's weakness.



IN THE WORLD



Former Armed Forces Chief Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, who was overthrown last year, and Caspar Weinberger

By Paul Glickman

TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS

“WE HAVE BEEN MET BY a wall of silence and indifference,” Rina de Morales told a crowd marking the one-year anniversary of the March 18, 1984, disappearance of her husband Gustavo, a national lottery official, and of Rolando Vindel, president of the national electrical workers union. The protesters gathered last week in this city’s main square and called on the government of President Roberto Suazo Cordova and the armed forces to account for more than 100 people who disappeared in Honduras over the past four years.

The international community has paid little attention to the human rights situation in Honduras because the number of people tortured, disappeared and killed is negligible compared to neighboring El Salvador and Guatemala. Honduras merits closer scrutiny, however, because it is a strategic link in the string of Central American “democracies” the U.S. claims must be defended against Soviet aggression. It’s bordered by Nicaragua to the east, by El Salvador to the south and by Guatemala to the west. Two of the three Nicaraguan *contra* groups are based in Honduras, and the U.S. maintains an ongoing military presence in the country. Big Pine 3, which could be the largest joint maneuvers ever held in Honduras, will include an April tank exercise near the Nicaraguan border.

The Honduran government has consistently denied any responsibility for human rights violations. And in a move apparently intended to divert attention from itself, the military is now claiming that most of the disappearances and killings in Honduras since 1980 were carried out by CIA-backed Nicaraguan rebels and other foreign groups, rather than by the security forces.

Senior officers revealed the *contra*’s involvement in disappearances in early January. The story was leaked to the press as human rights groups were accusing the military of a coverup in an investigation into the disappeared. But news of the rebels’ role in rights abuses failed to deflect criticism of the military, and it also provided opponents of the U.S.’ war against Nicaragua with one more argument against congressional approval of renewed *contra* funding.

On December 29, a special military commission issued a progress report on its investigation into the disappeared. Armed Forces Chief General Walter Lopez Reyes ordered the inquiry after he and several colonels overthrew former Armed Forces Chief General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez on March 31, 1984. The military’s report said that of 112 people listed as disappeared between 1981 and the ouster of Alvarez,

eight were incorrectly included in the list, and the commission had been unable to locate the remaining 104.

The commission reported that it could not determine who was responsible for the disappearances, although it had uncovered no evidence of government involvement. The report also stated that some of the disappeared may have been victims of “irregular armed groups of the left and the right, not Honduran, which in the past have operated clandestinely in the national territory.”

Human rights organizations attacked the report as a “farce.” Dr. Ramon Custodio, president of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CODEH), said the officers who overthrew Gen. Alvarez had tricked the public into thinking they would usher in a new era of respect for human rights. He charged that the instigators of the coup “used the disappeared as an excuse, and in so doing they have offended the relatives of the disappeared.”

Two weeks after the military commission’s report, stories appeared in several major U.S. newspapers and on a national TV network that the *contras* had carried out death squad-style killings of Hondurans, Salvadorans and Nicaraguans. Military sources told the *Miami Herald* that there were 247 kidnappings, disappearances and killings since 1980, and that the Honduran security forces were implicated in only 20 to 30 of the cases. They added that the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the largest anti-Sandinista army, killed as many as 18 Hondurans and was responsible for “a large but unspecified number” of attacks on Salvadorans. Eighty-two Salvadorans are on the list of 247. The source said the attacks were carried out as part of a CIA-funded program to stop arms trafficking to the guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador.

The FDN denied it had kidnapped or killed anyone in Honduras, but several people have come forward, including a Honduran journalist, to say they were kidnapped by the rebels.

Contra human rights violations in Honduras present yet another obstacle to the Reagan administration’s attempt to win congressional approval of renewed funding for the guerrillas. State Department spokesman Alan Romberg said on January 17 that the U.S. “has no information that could substantiate these accusations.” But a well-informed source said U.S. officials were aware that the *contras* were killing sus-

pected arms traffickers, but they chose not to do anything about it. The source said the Pentagon is investigating *contra* activities in Honduras during the Alvarez era.

The Honduran armed forces blamed El Salvador’s ORDEN paramilitary squads for the murders and disappearances of several Salvadoran refugees living in camps in southern Honduras. Sandinista agents were fingered as the likely culprits in a rash of bombings in 1983 and in the 1979 murder in Tegucigalpa of former Nicaraguan National Guard Major Emilio Salazar. The military sources also said they had evidence linking the FMLN to the kidnappings of three European businessmen in Honduras between 1981 and 1982.

The stories of foreign involvement in disappearances only strengthened Honduran human rights activists’ belief that the military was trying to conceal its guilt. The Committee of Relatives of the Disappeared (COFADEH) charged that groups such as the FDN and ORDEN operated “with the open and militant complicity of the Honduran state security forces.”

A local newspaper’s interview with Odilon Ayestas, a former deputy in the National Congress, lent credence to COFADEH’s accusation. Ayestas told *Tiempo* that three years ago a combined paramilitary group made up of Hondurans and Nicaraguan rebels kidnapped a Guatemalan couple off his farm. The couple was found shot to death a few days later. Ayestas said the squad was commanded by Capt. Rafael Canales Nunez, one of those accused by human rights groups of being responsible for many disappearances.

CODEH President Dr. Custodio questioned the military’s statistics on the level of Nicaraguan and Salvadoran involvement

The army claims the *contras* are, but human rights groups say that claim is farcical and the army is the likely culprit.

in human rights violations, and charged that killings and disappearances have continued since Gen. Alvarez was sent to live in exile in Miami. Custodio said CODEH has compiled a list of 14 political killings and is investigating about 20 more disappearances that occurred since Gen. Lopez took control of the armed forces.

Nine peasants were captured by the security forces in less than one week in late January, according to CODEH. The rights group said three of those arrested were religious workers referred to as “celebrators of the word,” and four others were members of a peasant cooperative. CODEH has demanded the prisoners be released or brought before a tribunal if they are suspected of committing a crime.

In mid-January, a man suspected of being a common criminal said he was in fact a member of a paramilitary squad. Antonio Fugon Melendez checked into a San Pedro Sula hospital with head wounds after a store owner attacked him with a machete during an alleged botched holdup. Once in the hospital, Melendez said he was a member of an anti-subversive paramilitary squad commanded by a retired army major. He wasn’t robbing the store, he said, but was rather checking out a tip that the owner had automatic weapons. Melendez said the paramilitary unit was a nationwide group with 200 members, and described how he reported to his superiors by telephone, identifying himself with a code number.

The government never responded to Melendez’ assertions, focusing instead on his criminal past. The DNI said he had committed armed robbery and assault, and had even rustled cattle. They also revealed that Melendez had escaped from prison in July 1983. He was sent back to jail January 21.

A source close to the Honduran military said another member of a paramilitary squad took refuge in the Mexican embassy in January, and eventually went to Mexico. The source said José Federico Valle Lopez was connected with the *contras* and the Honduran security forces.

The armed forces’ failure to punish even one human rights violator has angered many junior officers, according to the source close to the military. But Gen. Lopez and his top colonels have apparently chosen to keep all skeletons safely closeted.

Human rights groups said that last fall the military decided that Capt. Canales Nunez and Maj. Alexander Hernandez, another figure linked to the disappearances, would serve as military attaches at the Honduran embassies in Mexico and Argentina, respectively. But Hernandez returned to Honduras after Argentine human rights groups protested his presence. Last December *Tiempo* reported that Hernandez would be sent to Venezuela on a military scholarship. But the Venezuelan embassy refused to grant Hernandez a visa, according to the source close to the military.

On March 7, CODEH presented a judge with evidence linking Capt. Nunez to the 1982 abduction and murder of the two Guatemalans from Odilon Ayesta’s farm. Dr. Custodio asked the Mexican government to rescind Nunez’ diplomatic status. But the Mexican embassy denies Nunez ever sought any sort of visa to travel to Mexico, and the Honduran foreign ministry said he had never worked as a military attaché at the embassy in Mexico.

Gen. Daniel Bali Castillo, head of the public security force under Gen. Alvarez and Honduras’ military attaché in Peru since last March’s coup, was recalled just before the armed forces issued its report on the disappeared. Instead of trying Bali Castillo for his reputed role in human rights abuses, Gen. Lopez ordered that he be retired from the military as part of a “restructuring” of the armed forces.

The 1981 election of President Cordova ended 10 years of military rule, but the country’s nascent democracy is still quite fragile. The ongoing human rights violations show that the armed forces is still not ready to end its small-scale “dirty war” against suspected subversives. ■

Paul Glickman reports regularly from Honduras for *In These Times*.



Otto Schily, the Greens' selected survivor

By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

ON MARCH 8, 22 SELECTED BUNdestag members were invited to descend into an underground bunker in the Eifel hills near Bonn to play the role of surviving "emergency parliament" in a war-game scenario dreamed up for them by NATO. This is part of NATO's top secret WINTEX-CIMEX 85 (Winter Exercise/Civil Military Exercise) held every two years to test command and control functioning and get political leaders and police officials into the mood of handling a nuclear war crisis.

The scenario for the paper war (according to *Die Tageszeitung's* "reliable sources") illustrates NATO leaders' fantasies. The USSR invades Yugoslavia and Finland. Panic breaks out. Refugees stream toward Switzerland. Demonstrations are organized by strange organizations called the "Friends of Peace League" and the "United Opposition to Nuclear Weapons," obviously the Commie front enemy that the Free World must neutralize as it escalates to nuclear war.

The emergency Bundestag was one member short. The Greens decided not to take part. Their selected survivor, Otto Schily, wanted to go along to see how NATO leaders planned to run the world as they destroyed it. But the overwhelming majority of Greens agreed with Dieter Drabiniok that "we can't oppose construction of bunkers and then go sit in them."

Like the WINTEX-CIMEX players, the German peace movement is mostly out of sight this year, but not out of mind. It is officially in a "phase of reflection" to digest new problems like "Star Wars" and to try to come up with a unified overall policy to orient future actions.

The Dutch and Belgian peace movements are bound to keep concentrating on the Euromissiles issue so long as the cruise missiles have not yet actually been stationed in their countries and even the slightest chance of stopping them remains. The German movement, on the other hand, has to face the fact that missile deployment was not stopped and that new problems and questions are piling up rapidly. The missile deployment begun in December 1983 was

not the failure of the peace movement proclaimed triumphantly by some NATO leaders. The unprecedented campaign against the missiles broke the long-standing passive consensus around NATO policy and created a widespread informed and critical consciousness of defense issues. This movement was by no means killed by the Pershing II deployments, but last year it was badly strained and nearly torn apart by disagreements over how to keep the movement going: activism or reappraisal?

Two plans of attack.

These disagreements were often exaggerated and dramatized by personal clashes and suspicions between leaders of the various 30 organizations in the Bonn Coordinating Committee that organized all the big national demonstrations since 1981. At times the disagreement seemed in danger of degenerating into a personal feud between Jo Leinen, Coordinating Committee chairman and leader of the citizens' initiatives environmentalist union (BBU), who strongly favored ongoing mass actions, and Andreas Zumach of the church-backed reconciliation action peace services (ASF), who criticized Leinen's position as "blind action-automatism" and called for a pause to think things over.

Another bone of contention had to do with the growing role of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the peace movement. Leinen began his career as an SPD youth leader and recently quit the BBU to run for the office of environmental minister in the Saarland under the SPD's up and coming left-wing leader, Oskar Lafontaine (see story page 3). Christian peace movement leaders are also close to the SPD, or at least recognize the SPD's key role in eventually translating protest into policy. That the SPD rallied to the peace movement after going into opposition was seen as a triumph by Leinen, but was welcomed with greater reservations by other sectors of the movement that are wary of the SPD embrace as a potential stranglehold.

The relatively disappointing turnout for the ambitious program of actions last October weakened Leinen's position. In 1984, the movement had tried to do too much. ASF and five other Christian and civil rights organizations thereupon proposed a moratorium on actions, and the temporary

transformation of the Coordinating Committee into a mere "consultative body" to help "establish a new consensus—and thereby the movement's capacity to speak and negotiate as a whole." Leinen protested that the Christian groups were trying to "decapitate" the peace movement, and speculation was rife that a conservative turn in the churches was sabotaging the peace movement.

But last December 14 the Coordinating Committee voted by a large majority to enter a "phase of reflection" and shut down its office in Estermannstrasse in Bonn. The idea is that, freed from the constant pressure of organizing mass actions, the movement should be able to work on the political clarification of issues—such as the relationship to NATO, on which there is no clear consensus within the movement—and provide local groups with urgently needed materials on such important new themes as the pending military appropriations to build up the Bundeswehr and modernize its weaponry, the Western European Union and the AirLand Battle strategy.

Andreas Zumach justified this decision in an interview with the Swiss peace council. Zumach recalls that in the 18 months between the December 1979 NATO missile decision and the first big anti-missile demonstrations in West Germany, there were no mass actions, but rather a great deal of discussion and information work. This was a "necessary prerequisite" for the success of the Protestant Church meeting in Hamburg in June 1981, which drew 12,000 people, and the historic Oct. 10, 1981, Bonn demonstration that first revealed the unprecedented strength of the new movement. Zumach argued that a similar, if shorter, phase was needed to spread understanding of new themes in the population and to pass along the "learning process" to the "next generation, for instance in church youths groups or in the youth organizations of the parties and labor unions."

The following are among the themes stressed by ASF in this new phase:

- A critique of the latest Soviet-U.S. Geneva arms talks, whose only outcome may be to "discipline the critical public in the West—but also in the East."

GERMANY

The hibernating peace movement

- Ways to resist the "incredibly expensive 12-year Bundeswehr military procurement program" before the movement finds itself faced with a *fait accompli*.

- Ways to help get the peace movement beyond slogans like "Europeanizing Europe" that can be exploited by military men and politicians to promote such confrontational entities as the Western European Union and instead develop a "peace policy alternative that promotes peace and is unthreatening both toward Eastern Europe and toward the Third World."

- The campaign against arms exports to the Third World, led by 12 Christian peace organizations.

- Intensive discussion with peace workers in the East German churches with a view to developing the concept of "security partnership" broad enough to cover the needs of the Third World.

The overall objective is to go beyond opposition to specific measures, such as Pershing II deployment, to develop a comprehensive alternative policy able to win over a majority of West German society.

Alternative policy.

The crux of the dilemma of working out an alternative policy is what approach to take toward NATO. The two parliamentary parties close to the peace movement, the SPD and the Greens, are both in the throes of developing their NATO policy and the

IN THESE TIMES MARCH 27-APRIL 2, 1985 11 only thing that can be said with certainty is that they do not agree. In contrast to the Greens, the SPD remains almost unanimously attached to the NATO alliance.

The most the Greens or a truly independent peace movement can hope to accomplish is to raise enough critical points to eventually influence SPD policy. Thus last December the Greens held a workshop in Bonn on the "Europeanization and Conventionalization of NATO." Researchers at the workshop pointed out that "Europeanization"—an ambiguous concept that for

This is officially a time to digest new problems like "Star Wars," and to come up with a policy for future actions.

many Europeans, more or less appalled by Reagan administration projects, holds out the prospect of a greater measure of independence—is being equated with "conventionalization," a shift away from dependence on American nuclear weapons to non-nuclear defense. But the catch is that this "conventionalization" fits right in with U.S. plans to get the European NATO allies to spend zillions on new high-tech weapons, which in practice will only open a new and more expensive phase of European dependence on the U.S.

The Green researchers observed that political forces favorable to detente such as the SPD (and the same could be said of the Italian Communist Party) were caught in a contradiction when they supported "conventionalization" as a means to reduce nuclear war dangers and promote arms control. Because in practice (the Greens argued), "conventionalization" means a big buildup in new offensive electronic weaponry, in line with AirLand Battle or

the "Rogers Plan," which in fact will have negative repercussions on detente. "Supporters of a 'Europeanization of NATO' motivated by the policy of detente thus turn out to be the 'useful idiots' (or even trail-blazers) of political forces which pursue aims having nothing to do with pursuing detente," the Green researchers warned.

The SPD itself does not seem unconscious of these dangers. A report by the party's defense commission chairman, Andreas von Bülow, concludes that NATO's conventional strength as it stands is adequate to repel a Warsaw Pact attack. German Social Democrats generally do not seem at all convinced that there is any valid military reason to build up conventional forces. But political reasons (Alliance pressures) and industrial reasons (the need to get in on new technologies) may prove compelling to any party that, like the SPD, aspires to govern.

While the peace movement is in hibernation, significant things may be going on behind the scenes. Last summer, an SPD work group began meeting with East German experts on how to set up and verify a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe. Although not (yet) on a governmental level, this is apparently the first time representatives from a NATO and a Warsaw Pact country have gone so far in discussing how to get superpower weapons out of their countries. ■

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By Dennis Sadowski

NO ONE IN CLEVELAND SAW THE sunrise on Saturday January 26 unless they happened to be above the low, cold gray cloud deck that perpetually hovers over the city in winter. A few snowflakes drifted downward from the clouds, more on the east side of town than on the west, a normal phenomenon thanks to Lake Erie. It was a typical start to a typical mid-winter day in Cleveland. Nothing better, nothing worse.

Dr. Frederick D. Holliday, Cleveland's first black school superintendent, hadn't seen the sunrise either, although as a private pilot he very well could have if he wanted to. But if anyone had asked Holliday that day, probably would have said he hadn't seen a sunrise over Cleveland for quite some time.

By noon that day, Holliday, 58, was dead, the victim of a self-inflicted gunshot wound to the heart.

His death brought attention, if only momentarily, to the political in-fighting that has characterized Cleveland's school system operations in recent years. Virtually from the day he arrived in town in October 1982 (following a stint as superintendent of the Plainfield, N.J., school system), Holliday received what he considered to be a more-than-adequate taste of Cleveland politics. He didn't like the games board members played and repeatedly reminded them to keep the schools in mind. Holliday wanted nothing more than to be left alone to do the task he was assigned—reorganizing the Cleveland school system into one of the best in the country within the constraints of a federal court desegregation order.

After 27 months, Holliday felt the in-fighting among school board members and other politicians in the city who tried to exert their influence over the 76,000-student system and its \$300 million annual budget made his life's "purpose lost" and "reporting to work meaningless." He often complained privately about the squabbling of board members but got no response.

Undoubtedly, the games Holliday had to face weren't all that was on his mind to lead him to suicide. Before he died, board members were non-committal about renewing Holliday's \$80,000-a-year contract despite widespread public support for him. In addition, his wife Ethel, suffering from terminal cancer, hanged herself in 1975. Board members and school administrators deny that politics led to Holliday's death. Instead, they say, other pressures from the job to his personal life eventually took their toll.

In a letter to the city that was discovered in an office in Cleveland's Aviation High School—down the hall from where his body was found—Holliday accused the city's politicians of "mindlessness" for ignoring the school system's needs. It's a statement echoed by several career school administrators, but not by all of them.

The manipulating and power plays have gone on for years, according to Dr. Seymour Freedman, deputy superintendent, who has been with the district for 34 years. "The politics of our board is no different from the politics of any large city board," he says.

For the most part, native Clevelanders know how to handle the political waters—or know when to back down when the going gets rough. Even City Council member Dennis Kucinich has managed a comeback of sorts. He was the "boy wonder" mayor of the city and endured a stormy two-year tenure as mayor that ended in 1979. His term featured a recall vote, which he won by less than 300 votes.

To newcomers, though, Cleveland politics can be a tough nut to crack.

Going public—involuntarily.

For the Cleveland School District, the years since Federal Judge Frank Battisti issued his desegregation order in 1978 have seen the internal haggling become public. Prior to that time, board members could do as they pleased with little public scrutiny.

Back in the old days, complaints over inferior facilities, ill-prepared teachers and outdated books and materials were answered differently, depending upon which side of town the complaint came from, Freedman notes. If parents from the predominantly white west side came forward, most concerns were addressed appropriately. The black east side got little, if any, attention. Sweetheart deals, no-bid contracts, unequal assignment of overtime and favoritism was rampant. Then came along the NAACP and Judge Battisti.

Unlike school officials in Austin, Texas, Charlotte-Mecklenburg, N.C., and Seattle, Wash., where desegregation was accepted (the Seattle school board even voted voluntarily to desegregate), Cleveland school leaders have resisted Battisti's orders. After seven years, less than a third of the corrective remedies ordered by the court have been performed adequately, reports Leonard B. Stevens, director of the Office on School Monitoring and Community Relations.

Stevens says the ultimate threat of desegregation in a city such as Cleveland is political in nature to the status quo, whose actions suddenly come under public scrutiny.

"Busing is not as threatening as it looks," Stevens contends. "There are no more kids or teachers than before. What's really threatening is that because desegregation is a change process, it tends to do what any change process does...it tends to tip the status quo [board members] off dead center and the ripple effect is that there are many other changes [to business as usual]."

Combined with the external scrutiny from the court, media, parents, Stevens' office and the state education department, there's not much room for politicians to manipulate secretly. And when political brinkmanship does occur, there's plenty of maneuvering beforehand to make sure the players come out looking good to the voters.

Deputy Superintendent Freedman blames much of the trouble on opposition to the court order rather than politics, however. "The stumbling block has always been the board of education not being committed to desegregation," says Freedman, unafraid to say what's on his mind.

"The myth goes out that desegregation doesn't work because people see the problems with busing. It's not the federal court's fault that the problems throughout the system exist. It's the system's fault and the board's fault for not being committed. The board sets the example. If they are opposed to the court order, throughout the system people will not believe in desegregation."

A stepping stone.

The Cleveland school board historically has been a good starting point for political newcomers to learn what it's like to wield power with plenty of contracts and jobs to award and publicity to gain.

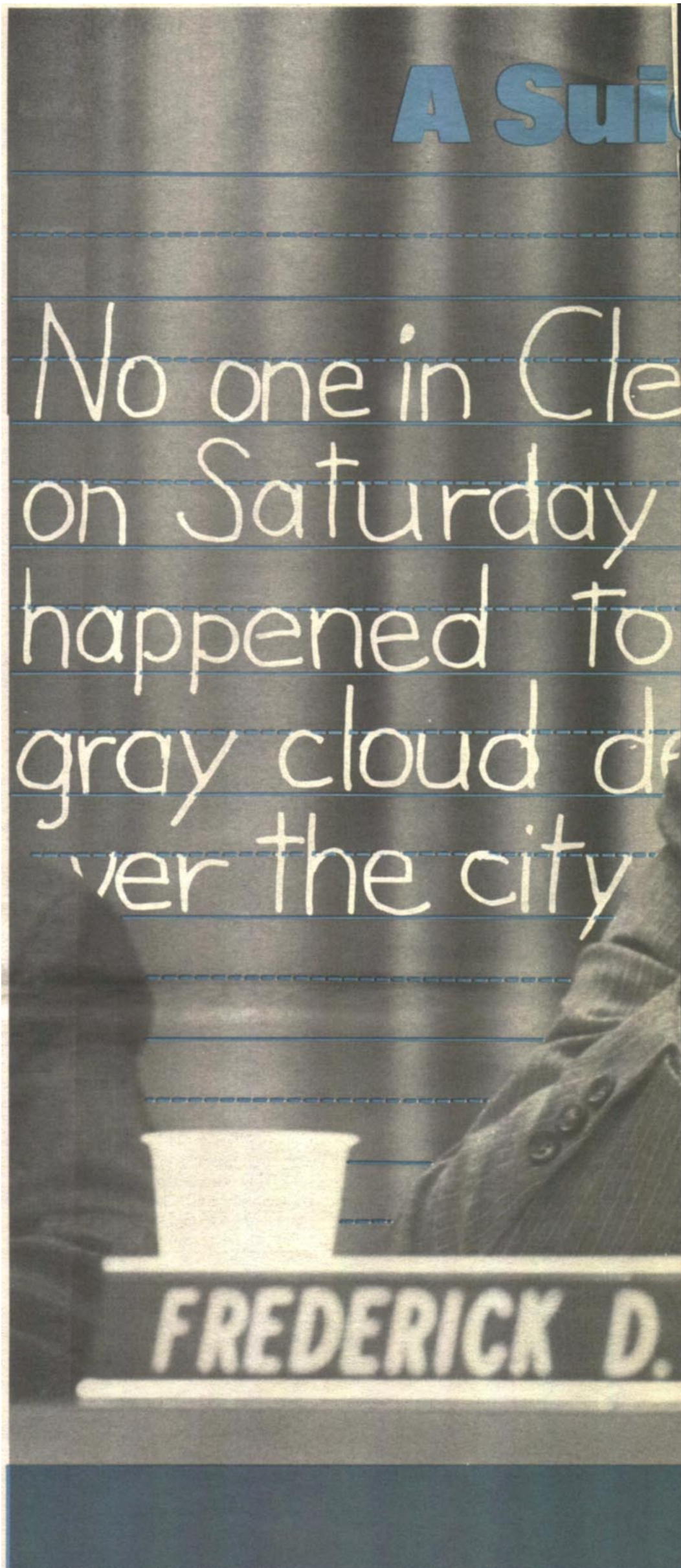
Board President Ralph Perk Jr., son of a former Cleveland mayor, admits as much, saying he ran for the school board in 1983 shortly after graduating from law school because it offered a "good opportunity for my own future, to get into the public eye."

Former board president Arnold Pinkney, an unsuccessful mayoral candidate, chaired Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign last year. Current board member Edward Young, a black who opposed many of Holliday's plans and drew the superintendent's ire in his farewell letter, had been rumored to be a mayoral candidate this year.

Not only did Young oppose Holliday at every venture, but black board members Mildred Madison and Stanley Tolliver were often outspoken critics of his actions. Holliday's support, instead, came from white members, in particular businessman Alva T. (Ted) Bonda and Joseph Tegreene. Tegreene himself is no stranger to controversy, having served as Kucinich's finance director. And Bonda is a prominent opponent of school busing.

That further polarized the city's black and white communities. Many blacks felt Holliday had become Cleveland's very own "Uncle Tom."

Holliday's pleas for cooperation were shoved aside, less than a week after his



burial in his native Philadelphia, as school board members haggled over the choice of interim superintendent. After a heated closed-door session, board president Perk, a white Republican, joined the three black board members to appoint Alfred D. Tutela in a surprise move. Tutela, who is white, was brought to Cleveland at the start of desegregation. He is connected to parties that were opposed to Holliday.

"The appointment makes me almost vomit," Bonda told reporters later. Political observers say Perk's vote was a public "thank you" to the black community which helped him gain a board seat and the presidency this year.

Adding to the tensions was a recent Cleveland magazine report on Municipal Court Judge Carl B. Stokes' role in trying to influence board members on the selection of a board president. Board member Teg-

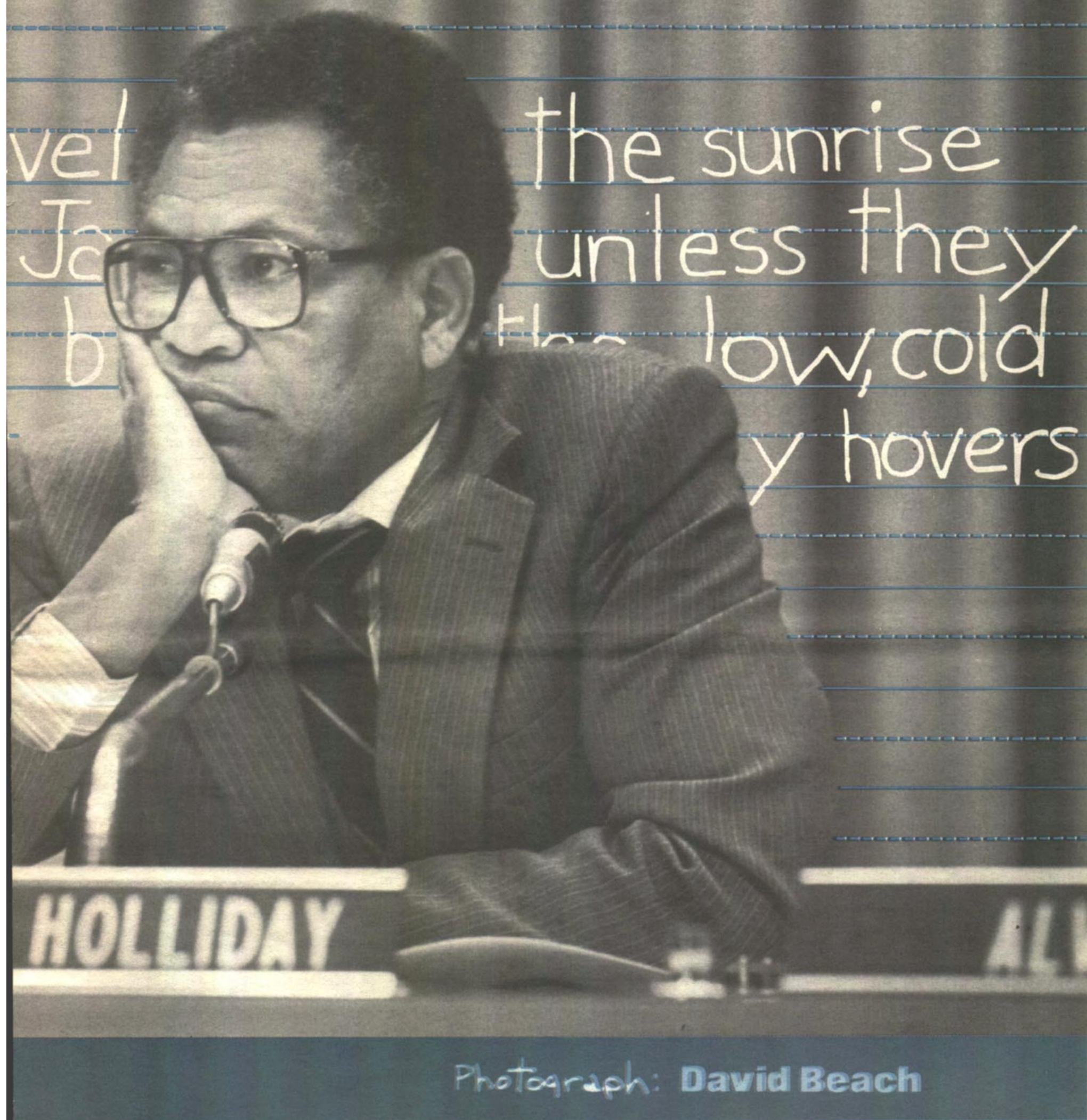
reene reportedly was offered the support of the black community in any campaign for public office if he supported Tolliver for board president.

Stokes, Cleveland mayor from 1966 to 1969, is also a business partner of Tutela. Both are listed as incorporators of General Support Systems, Inc., formed in 1982 to sell computer paper. The company received a \$66,000 contract from the Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) commissioners in 1984, according to the magazine report.

Tegreene contends Tutela was chosen superintendent based solely on his allegiance with Stokes. So the disagreements go on, despite Holliday's dying plea.

Part of the reason for Holliday's troubles with black board members was his close friendship with Bonda. Holliday and Bonda, a multi-millionaire, actively supported a plan by developer John Ferchill

cide In Cleveland



Photograph: David Beach

to turn the historic school administration building into a world class hotel, complete with an enclosed atrium and posh furnishings.

The deal is opposed by many inner-city residents, who see the downtown building as a symbol of the district that must be maintained. Others have voiced dissatisfaction with Ferchill's \$6 million offering price, saying the district would incur far more expenses for purchasing a new headquarters and moving.

Is change ahead?

Board President Perk contends that under his leadership the desegregation will be fully implemented. "Outsiders have been running this system for years. That's not going to happen any more," Perk says in his best populist stance.

"There is a lot of power and prestige

sitting in the control of the board. There's always potential for conflict. There has been more conflict in the recent history than in the past. I'm going to attempt to alleviate that situation and try to focus all the discussions on the issues."

Since Tutela's appointment in early February, Perk's intentions seem to be holding true. Tutela has managed to unify the board in an attempt to solve serious problems with the private firm contracted to provide drivers for the school buses (a Holliday plan). He has also convinced board members to approve large salary increases for top level administrators and has vowed commitment to the desegregation order.

Deputy Superintendent Freedman also feels positive about the board's recent action, which demonstrated for the first time its commitment to the court order.

Under Holliday, too, positive signs

began to emerge despite the bickering. Reading scores improved in grades one through nine, school-based management replaced orders coming from downtown, the district ended state receivership with the final payment of \$25 million on a \$139 million state loan, and voters approved a property tax levy that raised \$33 million in 1984.

With elections this fall for three board seats, Mayor George Voinovich has injected himself into the controversial school issue as well by offering to head a search committee to identify qualified candidates. Surprising many by his announcements, the usually low-key Voinovich backed away from inferences others made that he was unsatisfied with current board members.

Freedman maintains all of the headline over the controversy and politics involving all the city's leaders detract from the

school system's purpose—education children. "Desegregation works beautifully. Our children grew up in a vacuum previously. They did not have any perception of what other children were about," he notes.

"By the time these children have gone through 13 years of playing with each other, learning with each other, talking with each other, their attitudes will be totally different from what I grew up with. They will know each other."

Only then will the type of animosity that so permeates school boards such as Cleveland's and blacks and whites in different parts of town disappear and the business of running a school district become the utmost priority. ■

Dennis Sadowski is a Cleveland-based freelance writer who has worked for the *Lorain (Ohio) Journal* and several trade magazines.

EDITORIAL

Picking at the edges can't defeat Reagan

If conservatives are correct in believing they have captured the "moral ground" and if, in fact, they can attain not only the presidency but a working congressional majority, our prospects as a nation are grim.

A successful implementation of the full Reagan agenda would entail a fully militarized economy, almost inevitable war in Central America—because the *contras* can't win, but Reagan is determined to make the Sandinistas "say 'uncle'"—a steady increase in the number of permanently unemployed Americans, especially blacks and Hispanics, and the continuing deterioration of public services—especially education, health care and public transportation.

What any of these conservative goals have to do with morality is hard to fathom, but it is true, as *National Review* publisher William Rusher claims, that their side has achieved "psychological dominance."

But psychological dominance over the Democrats has not translated into political clear sailing. And, in fact, the majority of Americans are opposed to the militarization of the economy, to further intervention—and especially to war—in Central America, and they oppose further cuts in spending on education, health care and public transit. The Reagan administration has gotten this far not because of popular support for its underlying program or the principles behind it, but because most leading Democrats either share the administration's principles or fail to understand the need for consistent and comprehensive challenges to Reagan's view of the world.

For its part, the left, both in and out of the Democratic Party, has contributed to the president's ability to picture his opposition as a group of "special interests" by its adherence to a syndicalist politics. Having a simplistic view of coalition, believing that the narrow pursuit of various immediate interests constitute a non-ideological left politics, various left groups facilitated the Reagan attack on them as merely self-interested, more concerned with gaining something for themselves than with the larger interests of the nation and the "free world." Thus it was possible for conservatives, through Reagan, to convince most voters in the presidential election that organized

labor, women's groups, blacks, Hispanics, environmentalists and others did not represent a national interest, while they—who, of course, represented the interests of the military-industrial complex and, more generally, corporate owners and managers—did.

The syndicalist bind.

The current debates over the budget, MX funding and aid to the *contras* point up the weakness of the syndicalist approach. On the budget it is clear that the majority of Congress members would prefer not to cut further in most areas of social spending, either because they believe it is wrong or because they know further cuts are unpopular. But they find themselves under relentless pressure to do so, given the size of proposed military expenditures and Reagan's tax cuts. And they do not challenge these because no major interest group opposes them, even though military spending and the tax cuts impact negatively on virtually every group in American society—except the rich.

As we have argued before, a similar problem faces freeze advocates. They have made a majority of Americans aware of the dangers of nuclear confrontation and war, but they failed to translate that into anti-Reagan votes because the immediate interest, even one of such an overwhelmingly powerful nature as survival, couldn't stand up against the Reagan line on the defense of the nation and the principle of "freedom." Or, to put it another way, without challenging the rationale of the Cold War and of Reagan's view of inevitable mortal combat between the devil in Moscow and god's representative in America, the "theoretical" dangers presented by nuclear escalation paled.

The arms budget poses an almost identical problem. It is half the reason it is "necessary" to cut social spending (the tax cuts are the other half). Many Congress members know this and have proposed a freeze on military spending this year. But none outside of the Congressional Black Caucus has seriously proposed rolling back military spending because none has been willing to take on the Cold War or the mythical Soviet threat to the United States. And yet, despite

the fears that sustain the Cold War, the danger presented by the Soviets, even after 30 years of Cold War, remains so imprecise that no one in public life has managed to define it.

As historian Norman A. Graebner recently pointed out in the *Virginia Quarterly* (Fall, 1984), nowhere—not in Europe, the Mideast, Asia, Africa or Latin America—have the Russians revealed any ambition or interest sufficiently important to merit military aggression or showdown with the United States. Between 1939 and 1941, a series of thoroughly predictable assaults on the treaty structures of Europe and Asia brought war to the world. But unlike Hitler's Germany, the Soviet Union has not threatened to launch a military assault in any region regarded as vital to the security of the United States or its Western allies.

In the nuclear arms race, too, the Soviet Union has been playing catch-up ever since the United States dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima—and it has consistently been the Soviet Union that has sought reductions in the level of nuclear arms and agreements not to deploy or develop new weapons systems.

There are, of course, good reasons why Democrats are reluctant to confront Cold War ideology. Having been in office during the wartime alliance with the Soviets, they got the blame in the McCarthy years for Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe, and for the "loss" of China. And they were in office during the years that a genuine contest for world domination by both superpowers was shaping up, and when they were vulnerable to those charges.

Changing times.

But 35 years later neither side can have realistic hopes of dominating the world—though Reagan seems intent on reviving the idea for the U.S.—and the Cold War has lost the strong popular support it had in the '50s. In our view, a sustained and rational assault on Cold War ideology is not only possible now, it is a necessary prerequisite to solving the pressing needs that the so-called special interests represent.

Just last week in the Senate, the weakness of the piecemeal approach to politics was demonstrated in the vote on the MX. A majority of senators thought the MX a bad idea—for a variety of reasons—but when the administration put the issue in terms of confronting the Soviet Union and as a question of national interest, collapse of the opposition was all but inevitable. They had no alternative concept of national interest to espouse or fall back on, so the

"lesser" reasons fell before the "greater." Of course, the Senate has a Republican majority, so this result is not unexpected. But in the Democratic House, where the issue will be decided next, the same result is anticipated, and for the same reason.

The other issue.

Taxation is the other major weapon Reagan has used to undermine social spending. It is an issue that a large majority of Americans are concerned about. But the Democrats, with a handful of exceptions, and the left, also with few exceptions, have not challenged the Reagan initiative except on his ideological ground. Thus Walter Mondale talked in the early stages of his campaign about "raising taxes," not about a fair tax. He did not question the idea that virtually exempting the rich and the super rich from taxation would stimulate investment, which the evidence shows, and common sense would predict, it clearly has not. Instead, he took the responsible—to corporate and financial America—position that taxes simply had to be raised to reduce the deficit, an issue that most Americans care little or nothing about.

Popular hostility to federal taxes seems to be based on two perceptions, both correct. First, the tax system is grossly unfair. Second, too much of the tax dollar goes to programs that are wasteful, or that benefit only narrow special interests. But the Reagan tax cuts have greatly exacerbated both these things.

In fact, as has been demonstrated *ad nauseum*, lower and middle-income Americans have benefitted little, if at all, from the cuts—indeed, the lowest income groups are paying more taxes because of hikes in the Social Security rate—while the rich and the super rich have made a killing. And as for waste, the gross increase in the military budget is the most wasteful of all expenditures, both in the technical sense that each dollar buys less of value and stimulates the economy less than equivalent social spending, and in the larger sense that the entire increase in military spending is socially undesirable and therefore wasted.

These two areas provide the underlying strength of the Reagan program, but the left in all its multifold manifestations continues to pick at the edges. The rationale for that is that it is impractical to go beyond whatever particular interest or issue any one movement or group espouses. But Reagan and the conservatives cannot be defeated piecemeal. If they are not confronted head-on, their predictions about becoming a majority may turn out to be more than pipe dreams.

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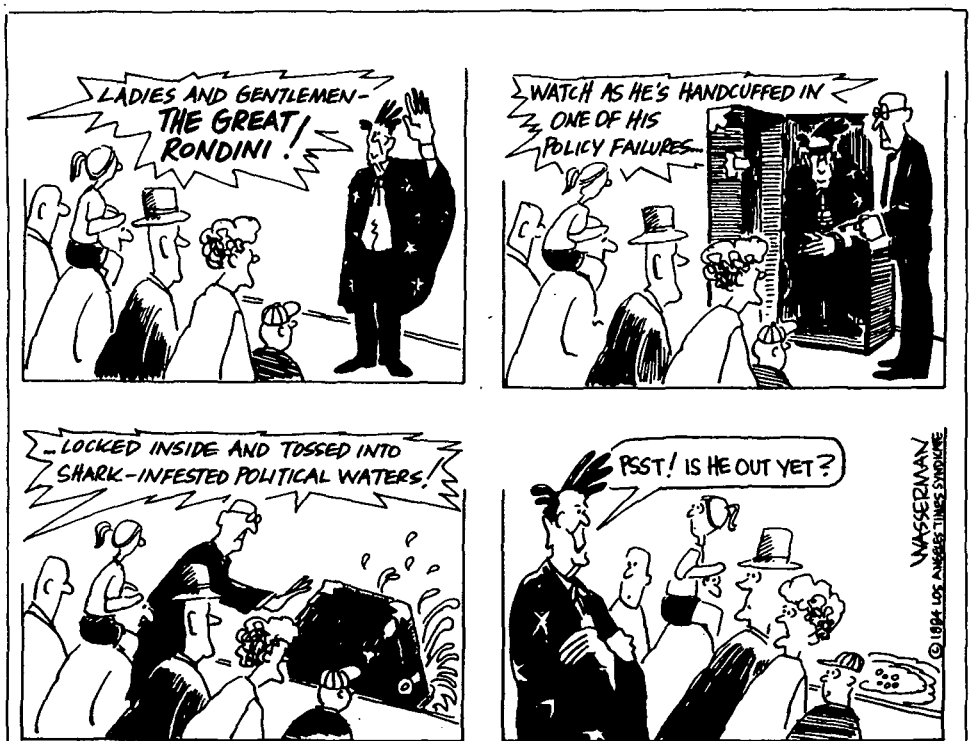
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STR1



Divestiture

THANKS FOR THE EXCELLENT ARTICLE by Joan Walsh on the AT&T breakup (*ITT*, Feb. 6). At last, those of us who are fighting phone deregulation have some reliable figures on the effects of the divestiture and subsequent deregulation.

Unfortunately, like most American leftists, the article does not go far enough. The answer is not in "life-line" service with demeaning means tests and degrading hand-outs. Public ownership of this public utility with end-to-end service by a single provider can give cheap, universal service. Three Canadian provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) do that and do it well.

Boris Mather
Canadian Federation of Communications
Workers, Ottawa

Riposte

COME OFF IT, MUWAKKIL. SURE, YOU'RE entitled to disagree with me as sharply as I disagree with you (*ITT*, March 13), but no McCarthyite labelling please. Where in my letter on crime—parts deleted included—did I even hint of "tolerating fratricide while waiting for the revolution"?

Crime is real, I was saying. But the answer is *not* more guns, more police, more jails, more vigilantes and more racist paranoia. A big step toward an answer, as even our police chiefs in convention have pointed out, is more jobs, better housing and less bigotry.

If that equates with revolution, we're in worse trouble than I thought.

Arthur Mitchell
New York

Drugged

DURING MY INTERMENT AS A CONFESSED drug addict I discovered that the chemical substance that gets one high in alcohol is a barbituate drug. This barbituate, ether, is as much a barbituate as any "downer" sold on any street in America. Alcohol is as much a drug habit as cocaine addiction, or marijuana smoking. However, consuming ether over the counter will not get you thrown in jail.

The fact is, alcohol is never going to be outlawed, though outlaws smuggle pot and cocaine into this country every day. Why must we spend the taxpayers' dollars on a drug war when the drug war is purely an effort to avoid taxation on drug money by drug overlords worldwide?

Manville Corporation poisoned an estimated "52,000 party plaintiffs" with asbestos, according to *Time* magazine. Brown lung disease, asbestosis, agent orange or the Love Canal incident all reflect the degree that any corporate interest may exploit chemistry in their own best financial interests, even if these exploitations of chemistry cost millions of citizens their lives, spending millions of dollars in hospitalization for chemical diseases that are incurable.

Mercury Morris was caught dealing cocaine and the American people screamed "immorality!" Manville Corporation poisoned a community of citizens the size of a small town and everyone thinks "management rights." It is a criminal injustice to bring to trial the lowly drug dealer or alcoholic while not prosecuting our corporate criminals. It is easy to bust burned-out hags in the drug community, or drug dealing pimps in the ghetto. Just try busting a member of the elite status quo for crimes far more despicable than that of drug dependency.

Aaron M. Farris
Dayton, Ohio

Ooze

I'M AMAZED TO BE WRITING IN SUPPORT OF rock musicians; my daughters will confirm I'm no avid fan. But Simon Frith's pious attack on Band-aid (*ITT*, Feb. 27) really ticked me off. If their music was not to his taste—fine. Instead, he discerns

a tone of "smugness" in their record. He feels that the question "Do they know it's Christmas?" implies that "they" are unable to know what "we" know. He says the song encourages one to have a "white, comfortable" sense of superiority to the have-nots of the world. He prefers bands that are "stylistically limited" and "can't really sing," but have "correct" political posture.

To me, the song's question is a poignant reminder that people who are starving have no energy to spare for anything but the struggle to stay alive. African parents clutching the bodies of their dead babies are not thinking about Christmas, nor are their starving children. Indeed, many people will *never* know it's Christmas unless others (of every race) are willing to address their needs. Facing up to the fact that it is in my power to alleviate suffering scarcely leaves me feeling "comfortable."

The aura of commercial success that surrounds groups such as Duran Duran, Culture Club and Wham! must, of course, be offensive to delicate sensibilities. I am made of coarser clay and cannot see how the record's success "transcends taste." The idea was to inspire people to contribute money, was it not? The implication that anything appealing to the mass market is of questionable merit is a curious notion from one who extols the "romance of the rank and file." By the way, I gather Frith views British miners as part of said rank and file. I'd love to hear the response if one of them was asked to discuss the romance of a miner's life. My guess is that someone would get a fist in the face.

Band-aid has raised a pile of money. It will permit many people to live instead of dying in agony. If this is "the oily sound of charity," I call it a job well done.

Kay Wade
Torrance, Calif.

NCorpR

THE NON-MILITARY PUBLIC SECTOR IN the U.S. is so pitifully small that the left is tempted to support the few public enterprises that do exist, almost reflexively. In *These Times* readers probably listen—and give financial support—to Public Radio disproportionately more than the citizenry at large. You who do may have noticed the profound shift to the political right in its news broadcasts, *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*.

The only regularly-scheduled commentators in recent weeks appear to have been former Reagan aide David Gergen and John McLaughlin, an editor of William Buckley's *National Review*. Furthermore, right-wing spokesmen frequently are interviewed alone, with no opposing viewpoint, whereas representatives of the left are almost always offset by conservatives. Since January, for example, listeners have been treated to solo commentaries by Allan Ryskind of *Human Events*, Jim Hackett of the Heritage Foundation, Edward Luttwak of super-hawkdom and several other stars of the right. I am less familiar with Public Television, but the same pattern seems to hold for the MacNeil-Lehrer Report and certainly for the McLaughlin Group (you guessed it—the same man). At least it is obvious that Public Television can no longer produce any-

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

thing like the 1971 masterpiece *The Banks and the Poor*.

In *These Times* readers should cease all financial support for Public Radio and TV and write letters to explain this action (National Public Radio, 2025 M St., NW, Washington, DC 20036; Public Broadcasting, 475 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, Washington, DC 20024; as well as to local outlets). If the present bias persists, let these organizations get their funds from the right and from the likes of Mobil Oil.

R.B. Du Boff
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

interest and a flourishing drug addiction and crime?

Jerry D. Lang
Miami

Down the Drain

I AM ENCLOSING A CHECK FOR \$18.00. There seems to be a place in this country where the news may be printed as it occurs. Our controlled news, in my opinion, is leading this country down the drain.

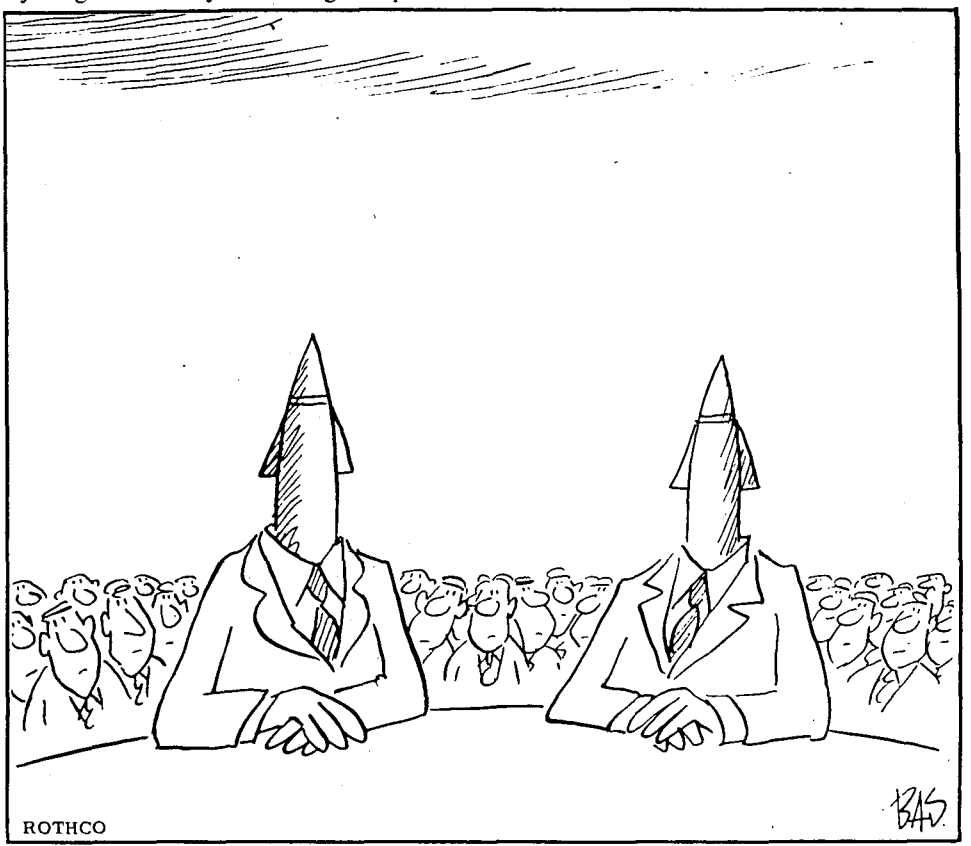
We are blessed with politicians for whom the name of the game is to get re-elected, build up our Social Security, say "no" to taxes, let the country float in red ink until the common people rebel.

Our controlled news media has led this country into the present financial quagmire. Our politicians do not know the answer to solvency, the first brazen method is to liquidate 100,000 white slave farmers this spring.

Our farmers have been caught in every conceivable calamity known to man: droughts, floods, price-fixing, Board of Trade embargos, high interest rates, hazards of nature. Their products are the bases of over 60 percent of all labor in this country. Their products must be processed and that is labor's best friend.

John E. McLeod
Washington, Kan.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

THE DOLLS ARE PROGRAMMED TO GIVE YOUR CHILD STRAIGHTFORWARD ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS YOU DON'T WANT TO DISCUSS.

JUST PULL THE CORD BEHIND THE DOLL'S EAR.

Hi. My NAME IS POLLY, AND I'M GOING TO TELL YOU ABOUT THE DEFICIT... BUT FIRST I'M GOING TO SING "OLD MACDONALD'S FARM."

3-25

Nicole Hollander © 1985 by Nicole Hollander

PERSPECTIVES

John Paul II's synod threatens reforms

By Robert McClory

I KNOW A MAN—A U.S. ARMY COLONEL now retired—who spent his entire career in a variety of foreign countries: Japan, Holland, Germany, Panama. Yet a five-minute conversation reveals that he might as well have put in his active days in a small town in the middle of Nebraska. On his tours of duty in far-flung locations, he saw nothing, heard nothing, learned nothing. He always lived on the base and raised his family there. Journeying out into the countryside for occasional sight-seeing, he mingled with the natives only in his official capacity as a representative of the Army. Today his views of the world are so provincial and narrow, so full of generalization and accepted cliché, so impervious to doubt or criticism that it's obvious he never looked seriously at his surroundings. Travel did not broaden the man. His perceptions of reality, formed perhaps by the age of 21, remain pathetically fixed and static.

I am reminded of that retired colonel every time Pope John Paul II goes on one of his trips to far-flung regions of the world. No pope in history has traveled so far—some 225,000 miles so far, on 25 separate voyages. His recent 12-day, four-nation trek through Latin America was typical: from Rome to Venezuela to Ecuador to Peru to Trinidad to Rome. Yet the Holy Father might as well have stayed in Rome—or Crakow. He came not to listen or learn but to teach and, in quite a few instances, to lay down the law. The 45 speeches he delivered were all written long before he left the Vatican.

All of which leaves more than a few Catholics seriously worried about the extraordinary synod the pope has called for next November. It was announced that this gathering of cardinals, heads of national bishops' conferences, and other selected members of the hierarchy is "entirely the

pope's idea." And its purpose said John Paul II, is to mark the 20th anniversary of the closing of the Second Vatican Council by reviewing what it achieved and by "confirming our commitment to the council."

To be sure, the council did usher in a period of unprecedented change and turmoil in the Catholic Church. The open window of Pope John XXIII let in all manner of new ideas and innovations. Yet it was patently clear that the changes and innovations would eventually have found their way into the church—a church that in the late '50s had gotten hopelessly behind the movement of history, culture and theology. Better that the new ideas came in through an open window; they otherwise might have broken down a wall. There is simply no going back to the lockstep, rigid, male-centered, clerically-dominated, totally hierarchical Catholicism of an earlier day.

But that is exactly what Pope John Paul II is bent on doing in these latter days of the 20th Century. The evidence is there in the decisions he makes, the people he appoints, the groups he favors in the Vatican. And it is no less plain when he journeys forth to counsel, console or cajole.

As a result, the coming synod could spell the greatest disaster for Catholicism since the ill-advised attempts to sell indulgences in the 16th century. This is not to say Pope John Paul is insincere or devious. Quite the contrary. He believes he is doing precisely what the Lord wants of him. The problem, of course, is that the word of the Lord doesn't always come from the top down. Sometimes it comes from the bottom up, in which case those at the top are the last to hear it—especially if they are doing virtually all the talking.

In Venezuela, for example, the pope's speeches reflected the extreme conservatism of the Venezuelan hierarchy. In a nation where unemployment and underemployment exceed 70 percent, he did not discuss worker unrest, the foreign debt or the fierce machismo responsible for the

frightful relationship between men and women. Instead he dwelt on the evils of contraception, divorce and abortion.

In Peru, the pope did speak eloquently about the rights of the poor and even called for wide-ranging social reforms. But, as is always the case when he gets down to basic bread-and-butter issues, he lambasted those who embody social reform in "certain ideologies." It almost seems, noted Penny Lernoux, Latin affairs writer for the *National Catholic Reporter*, that John Paul wants to "separate his vision of the world from the contamination of earthly realities." He advocates a "new Christian civilization," but it must be created only under the leadership and with the constant blessing of the Catholic bishops and the officials of the local institutional church. Any non-church initiative is suspect because of its reliance on "ideology." Such an approach may be appropriate in Poland where the church is indeed a bulwark for human rights and a necessary counterbalance to Communist oppression. The approach is absurdly inappropriate in Peru (and many other Latin American countries)

Vatican II began dialog in the Church. This is now under attack.

where the institutional church has historically been linked with wealthy aristocracies, military repression and the exploitation of the poor.

In Peru, the pope took no notice of the flourishing lay-centered Christian base communities, which have made a profound religious impact on the common people. Nor did he talk about the role of women, except to reiterate on one occasion that they be faithful to their supportive role in the home. Speaking at Cuzco, his resounding demand for economic justice on behalf of the downtrodden Indians was countered by his equally resounding demand that everyone maintain scrupulous obedience to the bishops and priests—this in a region where the man the pope recently put in charge, Bishop Alcedo Mendoza Castro, is busy putting down lay-sponsored initiatives, halting pastoral education programs for the poor and proving a welcome friend to the church's right wing, determined to root out any vestige of liberation theology.

In short, the papal social program is so one-dimensional, so closed to nuance that his visits to hard-pressed parts of the world do more harm than good. If the upcoming synod is going to rubberstamp John Paul's clericalized, unearthly social doctrine (and tell the world that that is what Vatican II really called for), then the church will lose the tentative credibility it was starting to earn by reason of its much touted "fundamental option for the poor."

Meanwhile, back in Rome, Pope John Paul is doing his best not just to rein in overly enthusiastic innovation but to impose on his empire a strict discipline and a total unity of thought more characteristic of an earlier century. The church in the Netherlands, for example, has been silenced and subdued through the pope's appointment of arch-conservative bishops to several key dioceses. The socially involved Jesuit religious order was chastised and placed for a time under a papal appointee when it appeared some of its members were too closely identified with "ideologies." The number of official resignations from the priesthood worldwide has been drastically reduced by the simple device of refusing to grant most requests.

Women religious have been ordered to cease their "experimentation," don appropriate garb again, and live in communities. The agonizing reappraisal of their role in the church and society, which so many of these female orders went through, is now to be judged and evaluated by a committee of bishops, exclusively male, appointed in the U.S. to determine whether the sisters are in conformity with Vatican directives.

Indeed, the general treatment of women in the church at present is perfectly consistent with John Paul's image of the female as a noble and helpful but essentially subordinate citizen.

The Vatican threat of expulsion from religious life directed at the 24 American nuns who signed the controversial *New York Times* ad on abortion included no offer of mediation or due process. It was the kind of absolute edict presented to extremely naughty children, and a far cry from the treatment generally accorded to dissident males (one thinks of Hans Kung or Edward Schillebeeckx). Indeed, the level of resentment and anger among progressive American sisters is so high that some predict their wholesale withdrawal from institutional work—with the attendant personnel and financial chaos such a move would create in parishes and dioceses.

Then, of course, there are the pope's repeated defenses of a male-only and absolutely celibate priesthood. He is unquestionably committed to imposing these requirements on the church perpetually: all candidates for the office of bishop are now required to profess their own opposition to a married or female priesthood.

Equally closed to consideration is the church's official ban on artificial contraception, which John Paul reiterates with the sort of absolute demand usually reserved for matters of dogma (which the position on contraception is certainly not).

More and more, it seems, Vatican congregations that direct church activities in the world are under the leadership of reactionary clergymen who earnestly wish to restore the church to its pre-Vatican II state: men like Cardinal Silvio Oddi, head of the Congregation of the Clergy, who is on record contending that the papal ban of artificial birth control is infallible, and who says he welcomes the fall synod as a means of correcting "abuses"; men like Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, head of the Congregation of Doctrine, whose office recently issues a badly distorted analysis of liberation theology, and who speaks ominously of a coming doctrinal "restoration." John Paul has also shown a special predilection for right-wing, secret Catholic organizations like Opus Dei, recently appointing one of its members as the Vatican press secretary.

The list could go on and on.

Given the chill climate, what can be expected from the November synod of bishops and pope? Can it possibly provide a fair appraisal of Vatican II reforms? Of course, it might serve a valuable function if the church leaders assembled from all over the world told the pope what they really think. But John Paul's previous synods have not been occasions for frank dialog. Several years ago during the synod on the family, San Francisco Archbishop John Quinn suggested in very mild tones that perhaps church leaders ought to take a second look at the contraception issue, given its overwhelming rejection by practicing Catholics and the world population problem. Quinn was assailed and declared out of order, and no one has had the temerity publicly to question a plank in the papal platform since. Nor does it seem likely the dignitaries assembled for the synod will do so now. High ranking bishops do not get where they are by being candid with this pope. The Second Vatican Council called for and began a process of collegiality, discussion and dialog in the life of the church. That process, it now appears, has been the first and most serious casualty in the reign of Pope John Paul.

Since the synod was announced, U.S. church leaders have repeatedly told the media what a great idea it is: "another moment of renewal," according to Chicago Cardinal Joseph Bernardin; an opportunity to "update the benefits of the past two decades," according to Youngstown, Ohio, Bishop James Malone, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. I hope so, but I have the same sinking feeling as when I hear Ronald Reagan talk about his commitment to civil rights, women, the poor and the environment.

Robert McClory writes for the *National Catholic Reporter*.

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PERSPECTIVES



The Confucian cultural tradition is sexist by any definition, but it also values communal well-being and excoriates purely personal profit.

American feminists misunderstand China

By Henry Rosemont

HAVING CONVERSED AT length with only a few dozen Chinese women during my two years there, it would be folly for me to pronounce on the hopes, fears and aspirations of more than 500 million human beings. But even so, those hopes, fears and aspirations must be seen and judged in Chinese cultural and historical context, because all of the women I did talk to insisted upon just that. Unfortunately, Marcia Yudkin did not do this in her article on Chinese women (*In These Times*, Feb. 6). Consequently, the negative perspective she proffers is highly misleading.

First, whereas most forms of American feminism with which I am familiar look to a future ideal and focus discussion on goals yet to be realized, Chinese women invariably use the all-too-real recent Chinese past as the benchmark for measuring their status, with discussions centering on the way things were, and the way they are now. From involuntary servitude to footbinding, from gang rape to early widowhood, from squalid urban brothels to disease and famine-stricken rural areas, the horrors of pre-1949 China are still vividly in the minds of the Chinese women I met. From 19-year-old undergraduates to a member of the Central Committee (Xie Xide; see *In These Times*, July 8, 1983). "Jiefang yi qiang..." was a commonplace way of beginning many a conversational topic by and about women: "Before Liberation..."

Thus, while Yudkin generally gives the government good marks in attempting to improve the lot of Chinese women, I believe she greatly understates the extent of the Party's and the government's commit-

ments and accomplishments in this area. Every Chinese woman with whom I visited at any length, no matter what her political beliefs, gave ungrudging high praise to the Party and government for their efforts on behalf of women.

Relatedly, with some notable exceptions among black and Hispanic feminists, the varied forms of the women's movement in the U.S. are united in focusing on womanhood, in the sense that being an American is a decidedly secondary concern; and for the black and Hispanic exceptions, tertiary. Chinese women, on the other hand, consistently use their Chineseness to define themselves; except when specifically discussing child-bearing and -rearing, it is by means of family, ethnicity, culture and citizenship that the Chinese women I know situate and talk about themselves—and the same goes for Chinese men.

This is not, of course, to say that Chinese women and men are unaware of their own biology. It is to say that gender issues are seen—and not seen—in China in ways very different from in the U.S. To take a single illustration, consider the deafening Chinese silence—official and unofficial, public and private—on such gender-related topics as human sexuality, the politics thereof, and homosexuality.

The moral thus far is that by bringing an overly American feminist or socialist perspective to bear on contemporary China we will learn little about China and less about the U.S. On the other hand, we wish to build a humane socialism in America, a Chinese perspective might prove useful, for understanding both the Chinese and ourselves.

Yudkin portrays the status of women in China as declining, and offers the following analysis: "the government's response can be characterized as an attempt to suppress one terrible symptom without acknowledg-

ing or attacking the disease. The disease is the old Chinese patriarchal system, which the Communists have still not thoroughly exposed and denounced, let alone dismantled."

A fundamental flaw in such an analysis is that it does not make clear that the "disease"—to keep Yudkin's inappropriate metaphor for a moment—is endemic to China, and therefore of truly epidemic proportions: it must infect every single Chinese. By Yudkin's own account, it is women who urged the granting of three-years maternity leave for young mothers. (Digression: if I had to work six days every week in a Chinese factory, as tens of millions of Chinese women must, I would jump at the chance to take three years off to be with my child.) When she says that women are the street sweepers in China, she is correct; if men held these jobs they would never get married. No woman would have them.

The underlying issue.

To speak of disease in this context is too glib, and to blame the Chinese patriarchal system for the mischief Yudkin perceives is much too simplistic. Patriarchy is indeed embedded in the Chinese cultural tradition, but it cannot be isolated and excised, as a diseased organ might, leaving the rest of the cultural body healthy and intact. And therein lies the real issue for the Chinese.

The Chinese cultural tradition is fundamentally Confucian. It is by any definition sexist (Confucius did not want to associate with women). It is in many respects elitist (Confucius did not want to associate with those unlike himself). It is in many respects ethno-centric (Confucius expressed disapproval of heterodox music and dance forms).

Unfortunately, for those who like their issues clear-cut, Confucius also detested violence and warfare, placing scholars and poets at the top of his ethical hierarchy, generals near the bottom. He excoriated those who sought personal profit rather than communal well-being. He insisted that governments exist for the sole benefit of the governed, that ability rather than birth or wealth should be the sole determinant of worth and status, that education should be made available to everyone capable of it.

Most important of all, by his insistence on the reverence and respect owed elders and ancestors, and the care and nurture owed descendants, Confucius provided a substantive spiritual dimension to the lives of the Chinese peoples, a capacity for the transcendence of one's own time and place. And he did this without recourse to any supernatural beliefs. Believing that there could be no answer to the question of the meaning of life, he provided a philosophical foundation for the Chinese way, based on tradition, ritual and community, such that everyone could find meaning in life; few philosophers have done more.

(Moreover, it must be noted that "Before Liberation" does not refer to Confucianism *simpliciter*. It refers to a Confucianism beaten and battered a century ago by Western guns, gunboats, Bibles, opium and extraterritoriality. No Confucian ever advocated infanticide or chattel slavery, and I strongly suspect that these practices were far more prevalent in the 19th century than in the 12th, or 6th.)

All of this is a simplification of a congeries of important historical and philosophical issues, but the point should be clear: there is a great deal in the Chinese cultural tradition—which, of course, includes Daoism, Buddhism, folklore, her many art form and patterns of family and community living—that is precious, beautiful, sustaining and satisfying.

Hence the question the Chinese must continually ask (which many of her leaders answered too quickly during the Cultural Revolution) is: which of our cultural traditions should we keep and enhance, which

Patriarchal attitudes are part of a complex culture. They can't simply be excised.

should be modified, which must be done away with? How eliminate those patriarchal cultural elements that diminish the lives of women—and men—without losing the strengths of those cultural traditions that provide a sense of value, belonging, nurture and a spiritual dimension to the lives of the Chinese?

These are not easy questions to answer, but the Chinese are endeavoring to do so, evidenced in many of Yudkin's own examples, in the recent resurgence of interest in the Chinese past and also in their accounts of the goals of the "Four Modernizations" program; the task is "to build a Chinese material and spiritual socialist civilization."

As the Chinese open again to the West, especially the U.S., the fear of having to take American culture along with American technology is real for my Chinese friends, male and female. For them, much of our culture is characterized by self-indulgence, tolerance for highly asocial behavior, insufficient concern for the poor, the sick and the elderly, and materialism run amok. The Chinese cultural tradition must be their bulwark against the inundation.

Sadly, much of the Chinese perception of the major elements of American culture are not wide of the mark, and therefore the Chinese, in an important sense, are to be envied for having these difficult questions to ask about their cultural tradition.

The way America was settled, the way it became independent, and the later growth of our industrial juggernaut has made us look always to tomorrow, not to yesterday; to want always what is new, not what is old; to speak only English, not the native languages of our immigrant ancestors. With so much of our past constantly cut away, it is small wonder we tend to be suspicious of it, are forced to rely on personal resources and embrace the future as we shake off "the heavy hand of tradition."

This futuristic perspective has not only diminished us psychically, it has also served capitalist ideology well. By focusing only on the oppressive elements in traditions, it has been easy to lose sight of the fact that what actually oppresses people are the formal instruments of political and economic power—bureaucracies, armies, large corporations—rather than rituals, customs or traditions.

Henry Rosemont Jr teaches philosophy at St. Mary's College of Maryland and contributed "A Shanghai Journal" to *In These Times*.

Marcia Yudkin replies: I am astonished at the uniformity of opinion Henry Rosemont Jr. found among the Chinese women. When I went for acupuncture, a woman doctor volunteered this after she found out I was American: "Women are not liberated in China." Unfortunately, my attention was diverted by the needles she was sticking into me, and I didn't get to ask her to elaborate. My boss, a Party member and a woman of 40, complained to me more than once that there was still considerable prejudice (inside and outside the Party) against women in positions of authority. Several young women I knew suffered because they were blamed for a strange man teasing them on the job; they considered the weight Party leaders placed on their reputation "feludal." I offer these examples not to claim that all or most Chinese women are dissatisfied with their lot, only to show that some Chinese women believe that their society falls short of its own ideals.

The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945

By David S. Wyman
Pantheon Books, 444 pp., \$19.95

By Lehman Weichselbaum

THE STORY, IN ITS BROAD, sordid outline, is the same. Only the scope and depth of detail are different. As Nazi Germany killed five to six million European Jews in its goal of annihilating the entire Jewish people, an unmoved world stood by as silent accessories to history's greatest war crime. The U.S., the Third Reich's leading enemy, blocked virtually all attempts at large-scale rescue of Jews, as did its closest ally, Great Britain. U.S. Christians "forgot about the Good Samaritan." Even American Jews, in too many crucial ways, failed their trapped European kin.

These sadly indisputable (if still not altogether undisputed) facts have, for the most part, been long ago revealed in such classic Holocaust sourcebooks as Arthur D. Morse's *While Six Million Died* and Ben Hecht's *Perfidy*. All that David S. Wyman has done in his strongly heralded *The Abandonment of the Jews* is consolidate those facts from their disparate sources and re-root them in deeper historical ground, buttressed by additional facts uncovered in diligent research and organized with exciting clarity. Thus, in a sense, those earlier works were news, which alters collective consciousness. *The Abandonment of the Jews* is history, which makes that alternation permanent.

For Wyman, two facts about the U.S. and the Holocaust are paramount. First, contrary to then-conventional wisdom, rescue of a substantial minority of threatened Jews, perhaps as many as several thousand, was a distinct possibility. Second, the Americans (and the British), all too aware of this, "looked upon any release of large numbers of Jews as a threat, not an opportunity." Hence, to cite one prominent example, relevant U.S. immigration quotas, severely limited to start with, were left 90

percent unfilled, throughout World War II.

"Until the Nazis blocked the exits in the fall of 1941," the author reasons, "the oppressed Jews of Europe might have fled to safety. But relatively few got out, mainly because the rest of the world would not take them in." Even later, at the height of the war and during the worst of the Final Solution, unmistakable overtures to release or ransom Jews by Nazi satellites such as Rumania and Hungary were ultimately turned aside by the U.S., even when those overtures extended from Himmler and the SS high command itself, which, keenly aware

expended whatever energy they could muster keeping endangered Jews bottled up inside Nazi-held Europe. This was due largely to a simple but profound reluctance to resettle these alien hordes, as well as fears, by the British, of provoking Arab unrest in Palestine and, by the Americans, of setting off an anti-Semitic, anti-New Deal backlash at home.

Implicating FDR.

The best way to save Jews, went the consistent official line, was simply to win the war, a goal of such devout singlemindedness that seemingly worthwhile diversions as bombing Auschwitz by Allied



According to Wyman, FDR's "indifference" to the crime against the Jews was the worst failure of his presidency.

of the drain on their rapidly exhausted resources, finally halted all mass killing operations on their own in late 1944.

Throughout this time, the U.S. government maintained it was doing all it could under near-impossible circumstances; that the necessary transportation was unavailable, that the Nazis planted spies among the refugees, that Jews should not be unfairly singled out among a host of suffering peoples, that full-scale rescue would bleed the war effort. All of these claims are methodically demolished by Wyman.

Instead, he shows, the Allies

warplanes fell beyond the pale of consideration. Yest, Wyman wonders, "who among trapped Jews would be alive to see the victory?" One exasperated U.S. official declared: "I don't know how we can blame the Germans for killing them when we are doing it. The law calls it *para-delicto*, of equal guilt." That guilt, Wyman makes plain, extended unequivocally to President Roosevelt himself, "the era's most prominent symbol of humanitarianism." Though FDR was no anti-Semite himself, according to Wyman, his "indifference" to the crime against the Jews "emerges as the worst failure of



These United States

his presidency."

Of course, government functionaries need not have shouldered all the blame. The American press continually downplayed atrocity stories, perhaps, in Wyman's fairly charitable view, unable to absorb the enormity of the scattered reports reaching their newsdesks. (Exceptions included the *Nation* and the *New Republic* on the left and the Hearst papers on the right.) Christian churches and organizations, for the most part, denied their role as "brother's keeper."

This dangerous failure of moral nerve did not exempt American

Jewish leaders. Though Wyman takes pains to buffer some of his harsher criticism, he presents a long chain of evidence that leads to an inescapable verdict. Jewish leadership misplaced its trust in a fundamentally do-nothing FDR. It muted its protests for fear (not unfounded) of provoking nativist, anti-Semitic reaction. Not least of all, the Zionists in its ranks made the rescue issue a distant second choice to what they perceived as the priority for a post-war Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

Two groups marked an important exception to this overall record of nervous ineffectiveness.

POPULAR CULTURE

TV critic Marc as 'Everyperson'

Demographic Vistas: Television in American Culture

By David Marc
University of Pennsylvania,
214 pp., \$9.95 paper

By Paul Buhle

WATCHING TELEVISION seems to most of us the flabby underbelly of American popular culture, programmed on potato chips and beer so long that the guts writhe at the very suggestion of real nourishment. Reagan's mastery of the medium certainly demonstrates the ominous capacity of fast-food to stupify the public mind.

But what cultural doyen predicted that a *MASH*, child of blacklisted Hollywood writer Ring Lardner Jr., and step-child of liberal auteur Larry Gelbart, would parlay anti-war antics into the most watched show of all time? Or that made-for-television

movies, as feminist scholars now argue, would follow up the "women's films" of the '30s and '40s in providing space and budget for gender-conscious themes? Or that network-styled "quality programming" (*Hill Street Blues* and *St. Elsewhere*) would exalt *de facto* social workers by dramatizing inner-city collapse and revealing the utter incompetence of government bureaucracies to remedy the situation.

Television has always had its critics. The *New York Times* has run a TV column since 1949, and hundreds of local newspapers added their own columnists during the '50s and '60s. The writers can do a creditable job, especially in lobbying for shows they appreciate. But with few exceptions, they have no particular background or training for the job, no inside knowledge about the industry or sense of any distinct video aesthetics.

Scholars of television tradition-

ally divide into hostile critics and fan magazine-style journalists. TV's enemies on the right and left are permanently appalled by the financial power of shlock manufacturers and by the cynical manipulation of so-called popular tastes. Beyond such revelations, these critics don't have much to offer except the unhelpful proposal that we all just stop watching.

Writer-fans, for their part, trivialize cultural information into the hairstyles or recent divorce of some current star.

A handful of less simple-minded scholars, including Horace Newcomb, Eric Barnouw, *Times* critic John J. O'Connor and intellectual historian Daniel Czitrom, have treated the contradictory impulses of audience aspiration and advertiser cynicism that combine to make the business both successful and unpredictable. But hardly any critic approaches the subject as the ordinary viewer writ large.

Enter David Marc, *Everyperson* with a handle on the history of popular culture and a hand anchored on the remote control. Now TV critic for the *Atlantic Monthly*, Marc radiates techno-optimism. Cable makes it possible for millions to create their own inventories of mass culture from the past 30 years (a quarter-century more, including old films), and with the help of video cassette recorders (VCRs), to flip through images at will. Whatever its application, this is a technology with vast democratic potential.

As everyone teaching a course in TV has learned, lifelong viewers already express at age 19 an astonishing sophistication in range of taste and insights about the visual text. And why not? TV conditioning breeds not a race of morons but rather people who understand plot detail, narrative technique and distance between image and reality. Who knows what today's real mass culture critics could do with

their insights, if only they had some real scholarly assistance?

Demographic Vistas is Marc's invitation to a public dialog. It's a curious book, deeply personal ("I am the case study," he says) in rebutting genteel society's indifference to TV, and in his choice of programs discussed. He writes about what fascinates him: not political coverage, not made-for-TV films, not soap operas or game shows or kiddie fare, but the sitcom, the crime show and late-night potpourri. These he analyzes with feeling and wit.

Marc tends to interpret with the use of literary-theatrical traditions and the connective links within the medium itself. He converts filmic auteur theory of the great or eccentric director into a careful analysis of TV's peculiar creative genius, the writer-producer. Thus kitsch-scholar Paul Henning (*Beverly Hillsbillies*), Aaron Spellings (*Mod Squad*) who reconciled '60s images with law and order, off-beat action-dramatist Quinn Martin (*The Fugitive*) and others reveal distinctive styles and elements of a larger evolution. Marc also dissects the development of genres, from *Dragnet* to *Rockford Files* or Milton Berle's *Texaco Hour* to *Three's Company*. He treats the single most extraordinary TV per-

One comprised the religious ultra-Orthodox, who took up a variety of militant actions, ranging from a rabbis' mass march on the White House to the smuggling of ransom funds into occupied Europe in a "stop at nothing" policy in response to, it was felt, a higher-than-human law.

Often working alongside these pious Jews was the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, formed by a group of rightist underground Irgun fighters from Palestine. Though Zionists themselves, of course, these "Bergonites" (after their leader, Peter Bergson) departed from their center-to-left Zionist rivals of the American Jewish establishment both in the boldness of their activities and their adamant refusal to hold the rescue demand hostage to a call for a Jewish state.

Through their mass rallies, hard-hitting ad campaigns (much of it penned by Ben "The Front Page" Hecht) and aggressive lobbying, the Bergsonites did help spur Roosevelt to set up the War Refugee Board in January 1944, which, despite its dedicated staff, arrived too late and with too little to have done much lasting good. At the same time, the Emergency Committee, violently ostracized by mainstream Jewish leaders, unintentionally split an already fractious Jewish united front, driving one unnamed senator to sputter, "I wish these damned Jews would make up their minds what they want."

Wyman's account of this self-destructive war between Jews might have proven the most politically troublesome element of his book. But as with the Roosevelt administration's deficient rescue policy, the basic facts are long a matter of public record (especially in Israel, where vociferous accusations of wartime irresponsibility have shaken both Labor and Likud governments). Nevertheless, it has been an enduringly sore subject for American Jews, as evidenced by the bitter controversy behind last year's report by the American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust, chaired by former UN Ambassador and Supreme

Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg.

That report, covering the same question of American Jews' responsibility for their European coreligionists during World War II, arrived at a significantly milder judgment than did Wyman. Yet the comparatively tranquil public reaction to this more-or-less exculpatory document differed strikingly from the internal furor that had surrounded the completion of its earlier, unpublished draft. That first draft, largely prepared by staff researcher and ex-Bergsonite Samuel Merlin and angrily suppressed by Commission members, had more closely presaged Wyman's conclusions with its harsh pronouncement that American Jewish leaders had been "gravely derelict" in not trying harder to save threatened lives. In an eerie replay of the very events of 40 years earlier that it had set out to examine, the Goldberg Commission violently broke apart for more than a year over Merlin's disputed draft.

It is, therefore, no small tribute to Wyman that his book, scarcely less unsparing, has been so well received with such little fuss, even by Jewish critics. This may be because he, like the heroic Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg whom he extols in these pages, is the quintessential "good Gentile." Grandson of two Protestant ministers, Judaica scholar (and author of an earlier book of narrower scope, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938-1941*), self-professed Zionist, Wyman has no visible axes to grind. "This book has been difficult to research and to write," he declares quite credibly at the very outset. "One does not wish to believe the facts revealed by the documents on which it is based."

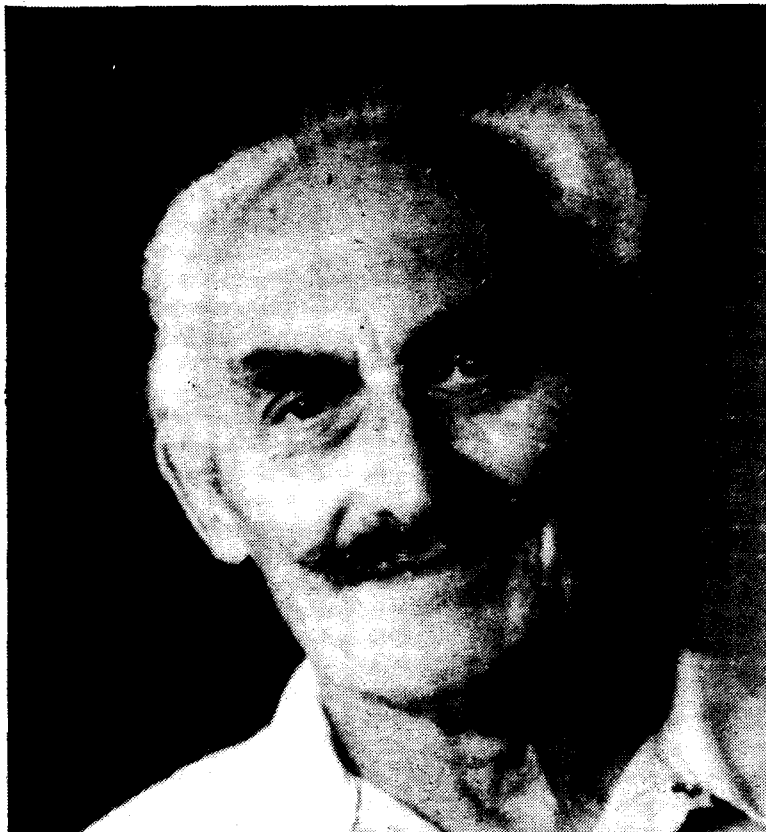
In the best tradition of Holocaust literature, Wyman allows the dispassionateness of his prose to underscore the horrors it reveals. Further, making up in comprehensiveness what he may lack in originality, he deepens an awareness of our darker selves and our own fatally inadequate response to evil. ■

Lehman Weichselbaum has written on Jewish topics for *Moment*, *New Age* and *New Jewish Times*.

ward a new aesthetic governed by rules not so different from the old elite literary criticism. Marc cannot accept or account for the contrary tastes of the masses. This problem could be partly solved through increased advertiser recognition of a Yuppie market for the very quality TV Marc applauds—*Hill Street Blues* sells Mercedes cars and the commercial networks succeed in introducing the class system of viewing that public TV has failed to create with its more genteel fare. That's a bad solution. Newer TV technology now permits ordinary viewers to go their own way with past products. But good new programming on any meaningful scale is hard to imagine without the politicization of cultural issues.

Demographic Vistas lacks social and therefore aesthetic solutions. But it helps us to think seriously and imaginatively about the problems. In his utopian moments, David Marc evokes the vision of a day when the televiewer will reconceive, reorder and reshape the medium to democratic purposes. By the late 20th century, that proposal is an inescapable part of any socialist agenda. ■

Paul Buhle recently taught the history of television at Clark University.



Gil Green has written the story of his life in the underground.

McCARTHYISM

Seeking refuge from Hoover's anti-red corps

Cold War Fugitive: A Personal Story of the McCarthy Years

By Gil Green

International Publishers, 275 pp., \$6.95

By Al Richmond

FOR FIVE YEARS (1951-56) GIL Green and Henry Winston were at the top of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's most-wanted list. In Hoover's cable she they were "Comfugs": Communist leaders who had jumped bail and vanished into an underground network instead of reporting to serve five-year prison sentences after Smith Act convictions for "conspiracy to teach and advocate...the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence."

With the help of FBI files secured under the Freedom of Information Act Green has now written the story of his life in the underground and his five and a half years in Leavenworth Penitentiary after he turned himself in. Green's memoir is an indispensable addition to the written record of the McCarthy era.

On the most elementary level, it's an account of the FBI's pursuit, with its cruelty, enormity and bizarre interludes. The FBI applied relentless pressures to demoralize Green's wife and mother and secure their cooperation. Green's mother, in her late 60s when he vanished, was questioned repeatedly at her home and place of work. The agents insinuated (as they did to his wife) that in trying to capture Green the FBI might have to kill him. An FBI agent's report after a later interview that the mother "was emotionally upset and expressed fears of subject being physically harmed if apprehended and was afraid he may have already been killed."

His wife, Lil, was left as a single parent to raise and support

three children, ages 14, 10 and six, in 1951. In their constant surveillance and hectoring requests that Lil talk to them, FBI agents kept a vulture-like vigil for symptoms of breakdown. Reports on her are punctuated with references to "strained appearance"... "low spirits"... "very nervous and distraught" behavior. (She did not break and Green refers to her as the "one real hero in our family.")

The children were shadowed. Lil's plans to send the older two to a left-wing summer camp, where they would be among friendly and supportive peers, were frustrated when the FBI threatened massive surveillance of the camp if the Green children were not excluded.

The scope of the manhunt is suggested by an FBI report that in one six-month period it investigated more than 3,280 separate homes and workplaces of Communist Party members in New York City. More mind-boggling was a plan to check on every person in 12 Southern cities who, according to FBI files, had dropped out of the Party between 1940 and 1955. By the FBI's fantastic estimate, 43,500 persons fell into that category in just six of the cities (Atlanta, Charlotte, Miami, Mobile, Norfolk and Richmond). As Green notes, the Party's Southern membership never topped 2,000.

In contrast to the FBI's performance is Green's portrait of the Communist underground. On display are some of the Party's best qualities: camaraderie, dedication, black-white collectivity, courage (people housing or aiding the fugitives were subject to prosecution).

Most salient in the section on Leavenworth is the unyielding battle of an intelligent, committed and vital man to defend his integrity against the assaults of the prison regime. Such admirable traits intensify one's wish that

Green had stuck less rigidly to the particular focus on his encounter with Cold War repression.

For instance, Green surrendered to the authorities on Feb. 27, 1956, just two days after Nikita Khrushchev's secret report on the atrocities of the Stalin era to the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress. Green emerged from quarantine at Leavenworth into the general prison population and a reunion with codefendant Gus Hall on May 30, 1956, just five days before Khrushchev's text was published. There isn't a word about that, although one must assume that Khrushchev's disclosures weighed heavily on Green's mind and in the conversations with Hall in Leavenworth's recreation yard.

It may be argued that Green exercised a writer's inalienable right to choose his subject matter, but even on his chosen terrain there is a sticky area. He devotes less than two pages to the process and political reasoning that produced the decision that sent him underground. He defends the decision, acknowledging that it occasioned sharp differences.

In the Communist Party's 13-member policy-making national board, two voted "nay" against the decision, arguing that all 11 defendants convicted in the 1949 trial of the Party's top leaders should report to serve their time. The board majority was no monolithic bloc. "A few thought the country was sliding inexorably into an American form of fascism," Green recalls. "Others felt this danger was exaggerated." Which view did the underground policy convey?

When Green told his wife about the decision, she asked, "Do you really expect fascism?" he retorted, "You know I don't." The question was more pregnant than the answer, for it also occurred to thousands of Party members without the benefit of Green's personal reassurance. Indeed, statements

Green was one of the FBI's most wanted.

and actions by the Party leadership signalled that the answer to the question was either "yes" or "probably." The consequence was a preoccupation with adjustment to an illegal existence and preparation to survive under a fascist regime, leaving little time or thought to a defense of the Party's legal status, such as it was.

Green refrained from a thorough examination of how wisely the Communist Party fought against repression in the McCarthy years, but his narrative attests vividly that it did fight with courage and tenacity when most liberals and some radicals either copped out or joined the repressors under the standard of "anti-Communism." To put Green's book in perspective it helps to note that its publication coincided roughly with the detailed revelation of Morris Ernst's fawning correspondence to the FBI's Hoover ("You are a grand guy and I am in your army"). Surely the Communist fugitive's resistance was more honorable than the libertarian lawyer's servility. ■

Al Richmond, the author of *A Long View from the Left*, was prosecuted under the Smith Act but his conviction and five-year prison sentence were voided by the Supreme Court.

ARTS«»ENTERTAINMENT

By Alan Thomas

WHO CAN DANCE to this bopping music? In the old days we used to like blues. And I still do. But now the kids don't lean on the piano no more unless the piano is playing off-time." The words are Langston Hughes' and the images that inspired them those of photographer Roy DeCarava: a waitress singing to the blues, hands as expressive as her music; another woman (drink in hand, elbow on the bar, cigarettes strewn) in lonesome accompaniment.

Hughes and DeCarava's classic integration of prose and photography, *The Sweet Flypaper of Life*, was first published in 1955. Out of print since 1977, the book has been given new life in a redesigned and magnificently produced edition by Howard University Press. Its reappearance should again bring to attention an artist whom the photography establishment has often found it convenient to ignore.

Roy DeCarava was born in Harlem in 1919. He trained early as a painter, working in the poster division of the WPA in 1938. Eight years later he began to use a camera in order to sketch ideas for painting and soon decided to devote himself entirely to photography. Edward Steichen, who later included several of DeCarava's photographs in *The Family of Man*, offered early encouragement, and in 1952 DeCarava became the first black artist to win a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship in photography. The photographs in *The Sweet Flypaper of Life*—subdued pictures of everyday Harlem existence, from intimate family moments to street play and subway gloom—were made on that grant, but still DeCarava could find no publisher.

DeCarava's photographs languished in a closet until he took them to Langston Hughes. "I thought Hughes would enjoy them because they were so much about

people," DeCarava told *In These Times* this February. "He was very touched and moved by the pictures and said, 'Let me try to get them published.'"

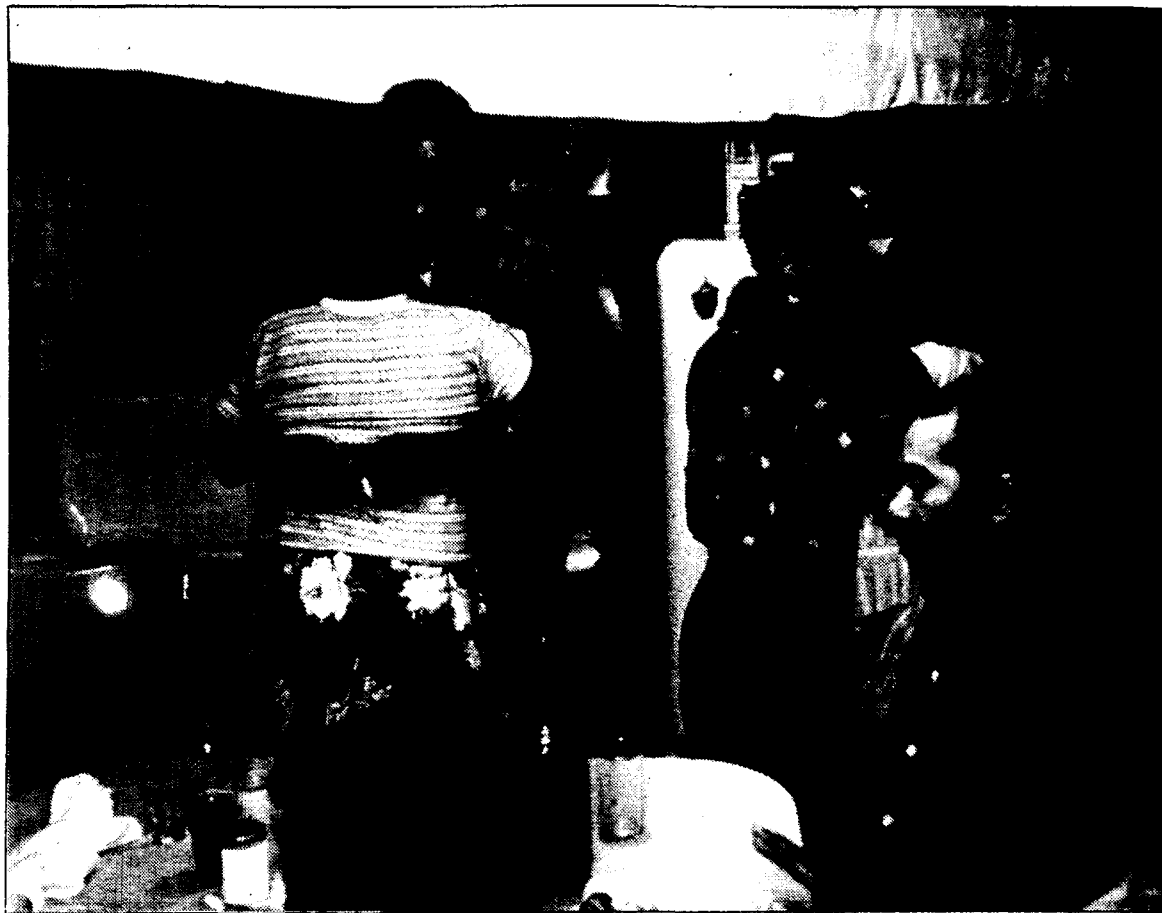
Hughes found Simon and Schuster willing to bring out the book, but only on the condition that Hughes write an accompanying text. DeCarava at that point relinquished control of the project, giving Hughes some 500 photographs from which to make a selection. Of the people he had photographed, DeCarava told Hughes nothing.

The Sweet Flypaper of Life is not, then, a collaboration of writer and photographer, but a writer's response to photographs, a photo-text in the same category as Thom and Ander Gunn's *Positives*

"It was almost like Langston Hughes was clairvoyant."

(1966), Ted Hughes and Fay Godwin's *Remains of Elmet* (1979) and Wright Morris and Jim Alinder's *Picture America* (1982). Yet DeCarava's images provide more than mere occasion for Hughes' writing. It is a measure of Hughes' respect for the photographer that he engaged the content of each image, pointing always to the pictures. Many of his passages close with a colon, allowing the photograph to complete the thought.

DeCarava's trust in the writer paid off. Hughes organized the photographs around the musings of a fictional grandmother, Sister Mary Bradley of 113 West 134th Street, New York City, who introduces most of the subjects of DeCarava's photographs as members of her extended family: daughters, their husbands and in-laws, grandchildren—particularly a trouble-prone grandson named Rodney who is Sister Bradley's preoccu-



Roy DeCarava



Roy DeCarava

IMAGES

Literary snapshots of the sho-nuff blues

tion throughout the narrative.

"I am still amazed today at the accuracy of his perceptions," says DeCarava. "It was almost clairvoyance the way he characterized the people in the photographs. 'Rodney' was a good friend of mine, and he was just as Hughes described him. He had hit the nail on the head, and this happened again and again throughout the book." With the help of DeCarava's photographs, Sister Bradley describes Rodney's girlfriends, his illegitimate son, and toward the end of the narrative it is clear that her chronicle of life in Harlem is a fond but also anxious representation of the world she must bequeath Rodney: "I always did believe in looking out front—looking ahead—which is why I'm worried about Rodney.... What do you reckon's out there in them streets for that boy?"

Pre-bop photography.

Langston Hughes' decision to par-

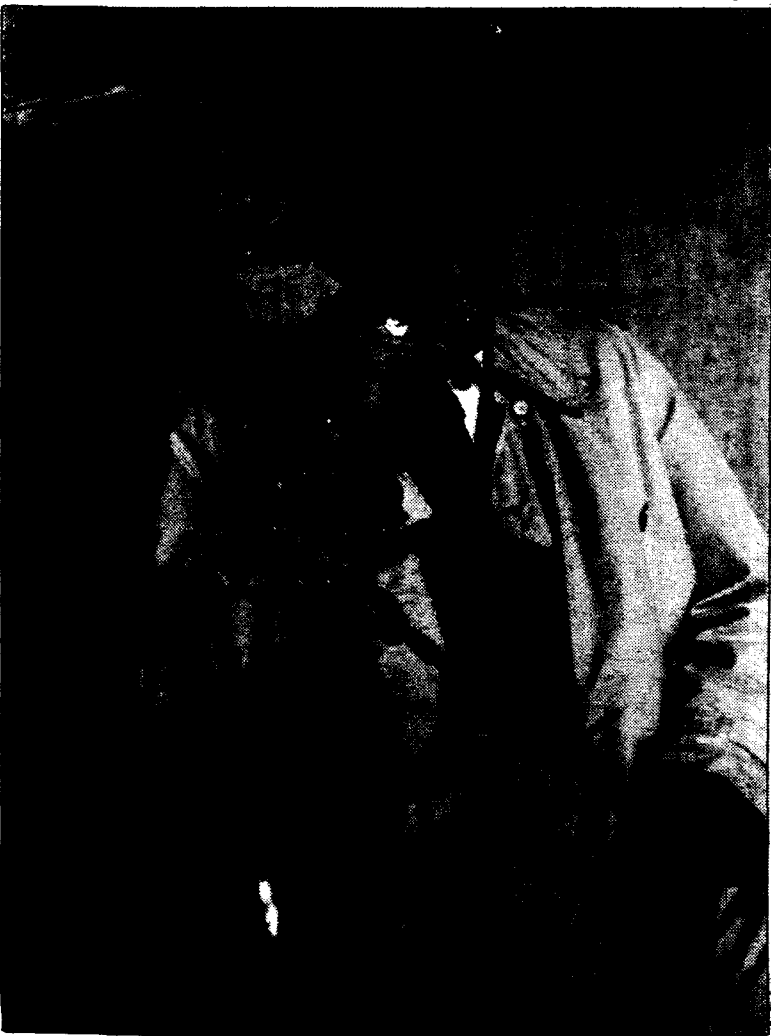
ticularize the photographs in *The Sweet Flypaper of Life*—to assign names and roles to the people in them and to see every street scene from one character's point of view was a choice that recognized DeCarava's own aesthetic. "At some point," says DeCarava, "it comes down to allowing the subject matter to dominate or the photographer to dominate. I always wanted more than just the subject. I wanted what I felt." Although DeCarava's photographs always refer to the social world, they are not (as Hughes recognized) reportage.

DeCarava himself is quick to reject the term "documentary" as descriptive of his work, for fear that it does not convey the personal quality of his vision. The autobiographical and metaphorical aspects of DeCarava's photography are more evident in his work after *The Sweet Flypaper of Life*.

A turning point came in 1956

when he photographed a narrow, softly lit hallway in an impoverished Harlem tenement: "It was one of my first photographs to break through a kind of literalness," explained DeCarava in *Roy DeCarava: Photographs*. "The literalness is still there, but I found something else that was strong and linked it up with a certain psychological aspect of my own.... The important thing is what it evokes in me in terms of my past and present. I can now see things of beauty within the body of its ugliness. Both because of and in spite of its contradictions, its origins and what they mean, it is still a beautiful image."

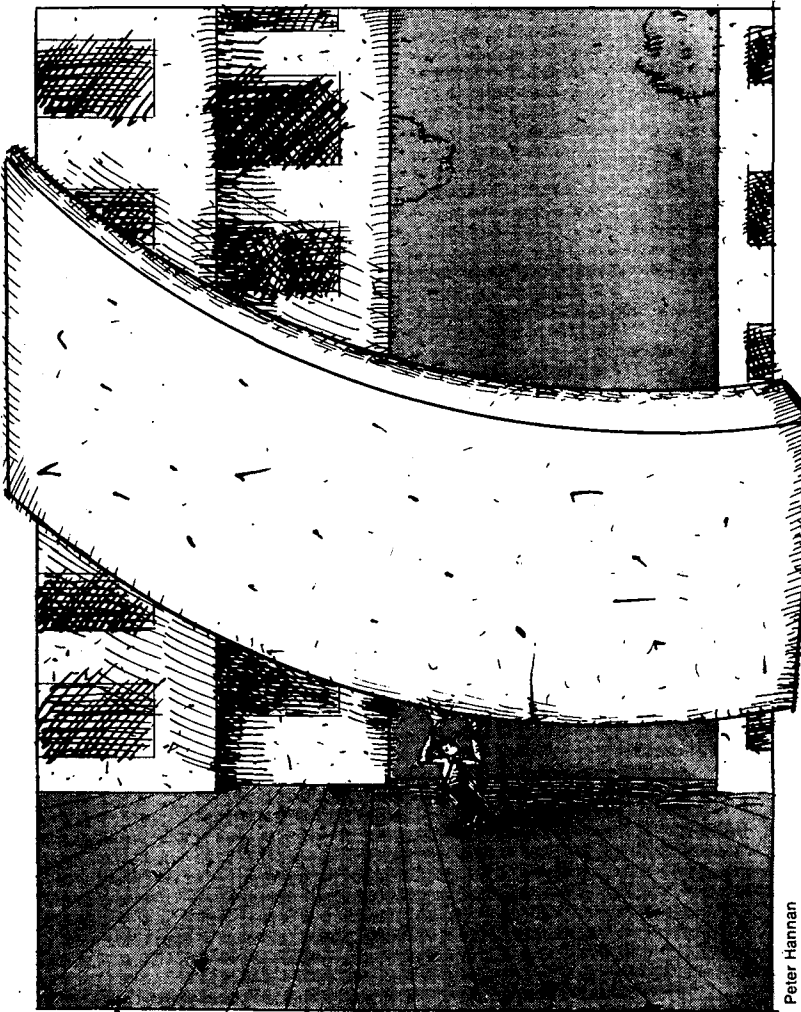
Although DeCarava's photographs became more lyrical and expressive after *The Sweet Flypaper of Life* (particularly when he began to photograph jazz musicians), their classical style of composition remained constant. The strong visual ordering in De-



Roy DeCarava

PUBLIC ART

Raiders of the "Tilted Arc"



Sham democracy.

To critics of the piece, this means that *Tilted Arc's* alteration of its space is legitimately judgeable by the usual standards for public space (addles circulation, collects garbage, casts a shadow, makes it tough for the Marine Band to play, whatever). But—the giant but—singling out *Tilted Arc* requires amazing myopia: the total exclusion of the rest of the environment.

Richard Serra and his measley one-half of 1 percent are taking the heat for the vastly greater failures of the other 99 1/2 percent. If anything, this is what the specificity of the work reveals. Let's face it, the status quo ante down at Federal Plaza was pretty grim: horrible plaza, horrible buildings, horrible bureaucratic interiors, the worst.

The hearing about the Serra points up exactly the degree to which citizens have no control over their environment. It's sham democracy offered as a cover-up for the real crimes, a show trial after which the miserable *Arc* will be taken out and shot and the Federal Building declared once again to be humane. Gimme a break! The Serra's being threatened because that's what can be threatened. And that's why it needs to be defended.

The issue finally comes down to just what the government's contractual obligations to Serra and his work are. Though the Serra flap may not be in the same league with Diego Rivera getting canned for painting Lenin's picture in the lobby of the RCA Building, some part of this whole matter does have to do with the censorship of art that affronts. I may not much like *Tilted Arc*, but the man did have a deal. What did the GSA think it was buying in the first place? Serra hadn't exactly been carving scrimshaw before he got the commission.

Serra's lawyer has written a letter to the feds, outlining the basis for a potential suit to prevent the removal, based on the original contract with Serra to maintain the work. The language of that contract stipulates that the government may "convey" the work to the safekeeping of the Smithsonian. The letter argues that any such conveyance would amount to the destruction of the work since it's site-specific.

What's worth some amount of alarm is the likelihood that one of a declining number of government arts programs will belly-up, becoming the creature of the retrospective vagaries of any bureaucrat's opinion. Whatever one thinks of the Serra, the troubling question is: who's next? ■

Michael Sorkin is a New York architect and writer.

By Michael Sorkin

SCULPTOR RICHARD SERRA's *Tilted Arc*, a 120-foot-long curved steel wall, has, since 1981, inclined in the plaza beside the Federal Building in lower Manhattan. The work was commissioned (and subjected to extensive review) as part of that agency's "Art-in-Architecture" program, which allots one-half of 1 percent of the budget for government buildings to art. Now, goaded by a group of people who want the thing out of there, the General Services Administration has held hearings to consider removing the work.

Chief among the opponents is Edward D. Re, chief judge of the U.S. Court of International Trade, whose chambers adjoin the plaza in which the Serra sits. Re has been tilting at *Tilted Arc* since it went up, attributing to it, along with sundry artistic offenses, a vast increase in the number of rats presently scurrying along the halls of justice. He has also evinced concern that the arch may provide opportunities for the enemies of the state to lurk.

Such opposition is an easy mark: troglodyte Reaganoids, everyday paranoiacs, boors. But couching the question in easy U.S.-vs.-Philistines terms evades the real trickiness of the issue. There are, after all, plenty of circumstances envisionable where one wouldn't have the least remorse at the removal, even the destruction, of a work of art. In any case, the feds apparently intend to relocate the *Arc* (Storm King Art Center has offered to take it, as has the Parks Department), not to melt it down to make B-1s. But here is the crux of the matter: Serra and supporters argue that to relocate the work is precisely to destroy it, that the piece is so site-specific it would become totally

evaporated of its present, intended meanings if moved.

This is undeniable; there is a range of very specific readings for *Tilted Arc* that depends completely on its presence in the current setting. While it may be true, as the director of the Storm King center maintains, that *Tilted Arc* would "fit beautifully" in a rural environment, the transformation would be absolute. One reads a Givenchy differently on Mr. T than on Christie Brinkley.

Serra's larger project is the investigation of boundary conditions, the edges at which categories—architecture, sculpture, landscape—impinge. Thus, to the degree that it distinguishes itself from those Calders and Noguchis, Serra's work also manages to separate itself from "sculpture" and the judgments conventionally applied to it.

Sculpture which exceeds itself, however, must be ready to bear the consequences of its fresh impingements. Too often, the slip-page in category merely abets the evasion of judgment. The way it looks from here is that this expansion obliges one to judge the work according to not fewer, but extra, criteria. If "sculpture" behaves like architecture, then it gets judged that way. If "sculpture"

Carava's images suggests an analogy to traditional jazz and blues. One of DeCarava's own definitions of jazz is "to be in tune": "The moment when all the forces fuse, when all is in equilibrium...that's jazz."

As Hughes' "Who can dance to this bopping music?" implies, DeCarava's style is pre-bop, concerned more with the visual equivalent of melody and classical rhythm than bebop's off-time chord structures. DeCarava, himself a jazz musician, agrees, explaining that the linear structure of traditional jazz and blues is also more literal, while bebop's vertical structure is the product of a more experimental concern with form.

Hughes' "But now the kids don't lean on the piano no more unless the piano is playing off-time" (DeCarava himself has likened piano to camera, both mechanical instruments of expressive potential) is unwittingly prophetic of DeCarava's fate in the photographic canon. Four years after *The Sweet Flypaper of Life* appeared, Robert Frank published *The Americans*, a book of photographs largely taken on his Beat-and-bop-inspired roadtrips across the U.S. (and introduced, appropriately enough, by Jack Kerouac). Frank's work remained "literal," but its style, like bebop's, created itself in an improvisational search for new (dis)harmonies. His was a skewed, from-the-hip aesthetic born of a satire and iconoclasm at complete odds with DeCarava's gentle humanism, and it still dominates fine art photography today, even to the point of its imitation by photographers using large-format cameras on tripods.

Force of resistance.

DeCarava's portrayal of black life has been comprehensive, deliberately embracing not only love and family life but protests, strikes and arrests. A photograph from 1963 titled "Force," published in the now hard-to-find 1981 book, shows how thoroughly DeCarava accommodated overly political subject matter to his aesthetic concerns. The image is a closely cropped, almost abstract depiction of hands gripping the ankles of a woman. The arrangement of arms and legs suggests formal interest in the subject—a suggestion immediately undercut by the realiza-

tion that the woman is being forcibly dragged from a demonstration.

DeCarava has remarked that he was interested in using this photograph not to document a particular instance of brutality but to create an equivalent for an "insidious, almost imperceptible" kind of force in society. This "stronger and more pervasive" force, DeCarava points out, can also be used in the service of opposition. Indeed, the political element in his photography itself articulates quiet but powerful resistance.

No one could better put DeCarava's politics in their context than has Langston Hughes in *The Sweet Flypaper of Life*. Toward the end of the book come images of a picket line, a black orator and attentive listeners at a rally. Hughes' text puts only a few words on each photograph: "Picket lines picketing...talking about 'Buy black'... 'Africa for the Africans.'" These details are part of a longer catalog of city vignettes recited by Sister Bradley. The impression conveyed is that of political agitation as part of Harlem's very rhythm—no more obtrusive in DeCarava's eyes than stickball or parades or family ritual, but no less integral to black existence.

Seeing that Sister Bradley's musings on Harlem are unified by anxious hopes for her grandson, one can turn again to the first pages of the book and see Hughes place the entire work in a subtly political framework perfectly suited to the photographs. Hughes opens the book with Sister Bradley's refusal of a telegram from a divine messenger: "Boy, take that wire right back to St. Peter because I am not prepared to go.... For one thing, I want to stay here and see what this integration the Supreme Court has done decreed is going to be like." Sister Bradley's anticipation of social change mingles with her relish of family life, music, and the "fine people of our race." The whole of it is life—sweet, sticky and as political as it is private.

Edward Steichen has written that *The Family of Man* was concerned "with basic human consciousness rather than social consciousness." It is a distinction, I think, Roy DeCarava would never accept. ■

Alan Thomas writes regularly on photography for the *New Art Examiner*.



Roy DeCarava

CULTURE SHOCK

Byte-Sized Steps

A state-of-the-art jogging shoe, available this spring for a mere \$125, has a built-in computer that records average speed, length of stride and calories used.

Magic in the Marketplace

A Fort Worth, Texas, mail-order house now offers "Sweet Revenge Voodoo Dolls," for people who want to "stick it to" someone, and demand for the \$15 item has far

outrun supply.

Not-So-Trivial Profits

In 1984, more than 31 million sets of the board game Trivial Pursuits were sold, or on average, one every second of the year.

Ou est le boeuf?

Vie de France, which brought French pastry to shopping malls nationwide, is now test-marketing a hamburger bun made out of croissant dough.

Europe

Continued from page 3

indebted states. It is a coal and steel industry rustbowl with 14 percent unemployment and an ailing steel works, Arbed-Saarstahl, that Lafontaine seems determined to bring under state (Saarland) control against the wishes of Bonn's Economics Minister Martin Bangemann.

This is only one of the hurdles facing the SPD left before it achieves its dream of putting the Lafontaine stamp on the party as a whole. True, one of Lafontaine's conservative rivals for party leadership, Hans Apel, bit the dust in Berlin. But a more formidable rival from the right wing of the party is Johannes Rau, who looks more impressive even if he has nothing to say, and whose power base is the biggest state in the country, North-Rhine-Westphalia, where elections will be held in May. How well Rau does will be a factor in the ongoing factional strife in the SPD.

Finally, there is the question of coalitions in a country where no single party has much chance of winning an absolute majority nationwide. The March 10 local elections, which also took place in some urban districts in the state of Hesse, belied the notion, based on simplified trend-spotting, that the Greens were growing while the FDP was doomed to wither away entirely. The picture was, rather, of a four-party system, two big ones—the Christian Democrats and the SPD—and two little ones, FDP and Greens.

Willy Brandt, after being the first in the SPD to foster the notion of an eventual "red-green" coalition, has been hinting more recently at an eventual coalition between the SPD and the Christian Democrats. In a *Spiegel* interview in early March, Brandt played on the theme of "national responsibility," the sort of slogan appropriate to herald a "grand coalition."

Brandt pointed to five policy areas in which the SPD might seek to share responsibility with the Christian Democrats—also a mass party with working-class constituents worried about some of the same problems. Brandt suggested a "national solidarity pact" to combat unemployment, "if salvation is not to be sought in some new form of social Darwinism." Second, environmental protection. Third, long-range reforms to save the pension system, in deep trouble due to the increasingly unfavorable ratio between active workers supporting the system and retired pensioners drawing on it.

Fourth, said Brandt, Bonn should help Jacques Delors, the new European Commissioner, to put through a European cur-

rency union. "That is our only chance to gain a little bit of independence in relation to the dollar," he said. "Moreover, instead of getting involved in these adventurous things with the American space program, we should get together with the French and other Europeans to test together how we can get the greatest possible scientific and technological benefit for Europe out of our own civilian space efforts."

Fifth and last, Brandt suggested a "second round of Ostpolitik. A new round of fruitful negotiations with Eastern Europe finally looms as a real possibility with the arrival of a fully live leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, at the head of the Soviet state. As in the '60s, any really significant turn in Eastern European policy would quite probably require a "grand coalition" to assure full acceptance by all major political forces.

DNC

Continued from page 5

ical office. "They are in politics because they want to forward a cause."

Since this country has no viable left opposition, the Democratic Party has become a repository of "cause people." Thus the party's left wing has gained inordinant influence, while alienating those in the great center of the political spectrum.

Enter DNC Chairman Kirk, who inherits a group that is in almost chronic disarray. Democrats were defeated in four of the last five presidential elections and the national polls reveal that Democrats are no longer the majority party. The 47-year-old Harvard graduate worked for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy as chief of staff for eight years and directed Kennedy's bid for the 1980 Democratic nomination. In his fight for the party leadership, the AFL-CIO delivered about one-fifth of his total vote, providing him the margin of victory over his closest rival, former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford.

Consequently, Kirk has been derisively described as a Kennedy-Labor Democrat, one of the species of politicians currently in disfavor. In order to gain credibility as a national leader, he will have to prove that his "union label" is misapplied. Kirk must also show mainstream whites where they fit into the Democrats' vision of this country. And he must accomplish this without alienating the 90-plus percent of blacks who traditionally vote Democratic.

So daunting is this task that some Democratic leaders are clearly concerned that Kirk may fail. Several of them, including Gov. Charles S. Robb of Virginia, Rep. Les Aspin of Wisconsin, Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, have already come together

in an aggressively moderate group they call the Democratic Leadership Council.

Although DNC spokesman Terry Michael insists that Kirk voted for Hatcher in the DNC election, it's obvious that Burris' victory couldn't have come at a better time for Kirk. The conciliatory comptroller will allow Kirk to evidence a concern for blacks without having to deal with Jackson, the man Scammon calls "the biggest floating cannon on the Democrats' deck."

Most leading Democrats agree with Scammon's assessment, and thus Jackson is kept at arms' length. This, of course, provokes Jackson's anger, but many now consider it more than worth the risk. After all, they reason, where else can Jackson go?

On occasion, Jackson has hinted he would lead an independent movement out of the party. "Blacks can no longer afford to be blind Democrats," he exclaimed after Hatcher's DNC defeat, saying the loss of his candidate raised "serious questions about the entire relationship between blacks and the Democratic Party."

After cooling off a bit, Jackson later said, "our tension in the party is not over whether we should remain Democrats or not, it is over the direction of the party. Because we challenge the direction and the decisions of the Democratic Party, we should not lose our legitimacy as Democrats."

One veteran Illinois Democrat says, "Getting attacked by Jackson and Hatcher is the best thing that could have happened to Burris as far as getting the state's party support." More cynical observers, citing Burris' long association with Jackson as treasurer and board member of Operation PUSH, have suggested the Burris-Hatcher split may be a "good cop-bad cop" political ploy.

While Burris supplies national Democrats with a black alternative to Jesse Jackson, the party provides him the cachet he'll need in his upcoming run for Illinois attorney general. And though Burris may be a bit concerned with the national rehabilitation of the Democratic Party, you can be sure he's in this thing mainly because he needs the votes.

Pakistan

Continued from page 9

the "confessions." He was flanked by two majors from the ISI staff, Najeeb and Javed. When some of the accused refused to make the ISI-dictated confessions, they were threatened by the magistrate and the young majors. The main purpose of the torture was to prove "Indian involvement" and counter Indian charges of training camps for Sikhs in Pakistan.

Suddenly, however, the pressure to implicate India was dropped. What had happened? The major reason is that the High Command feared a violent Indian reaction and were warned by a friendly foreign power not to play the "Indian card." A minor reason may have been that some army messengers had disappeared with crucial evidence proving the trial was a fake from beginning to end. The evidence contained "confessions" written in the offices of the ISI and destined for interrogators at Attock Fort.

The entire affair created dissension within the army's higher ranks. Accordingly, some of the accused were forced to mention names of senior officers and others prepared by the intelligence agencies. Gen. Iqbal Khan and Gen. Sawar Khan were retired. To senior corps commanders, Gen. Majid and Gen. Jamal, as well as several major generals and brigadiers were sacked. Zia's own military secretary and deputy military-secretary were subjected to interrogation and transferred. From January to March of last year, 350 majors and captains were released from service.

The effect of all this on the army's morale can not be overstated. Clearly, Zia's status has been harmed by this affair.

Zia's young favorite, Lt. Col. Badar, was in charge of Attock Fort. He supervised the torture and the interrogation and also threatened officers with capital punishment. Badar initially concentrated on attempting to torture Squadron Leader Tahir Maqsood and several other officers. They refused, however, and withstood the torture. Later Tahir Maqsood broke down when his wife and younger brother (also detained at Attock) were humiliated. But afterward, a mentally tortured Maqsood retracted and, together with his wife and brother, he was shisked off for more "coaxing." This time he succumbed.

Within the ruling military clique, senior generals argued for a field general court martial, but the ISI, fearful that this might reveal too much, insisted on a military court that can be controlled more directly.

The trial at Attock is currently taking place behind closed doors. What is not yet clear is which card the army chiefs have decided to play. With the National Assembly elections out of the way, Gen. Zia has started hanging people again. Since the framed officers are accused of high treason, their lives are in danger.

It would be ironic, although not surprising, if the so-called defenders of democracy in Washington allowed any of these officers—whose only crime was to demand a return to democracy—to be executed.

Tariq Ali's latest book is An Indian Dynasty: The Story of the Neru Ghandi Family.

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"This collection of essays constitutes a magnificent monument to recent scholarship on the Second Republic and the Civil War. It is indispensable for a full understanding of the period."

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Chris Edwards

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Methuen

29 WEST 35th STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10001

Market

Continued from page 24

the courtyard where I built it, gives protection from heat in our hot desert home.

•Newspaper and cardboard don't bring a lot by the pound, but they can be used to fill out the load. And many food markets are recycling cardboard boxes these days. Also, you can roll newspapers tightly and burn them like logs.

•You can sometimes find clean books and magazines, providing free reading material for you and your friends. You can also take them to the swap meet to exchange or sell.

•In the middle of July I found a perfectly good down jacket in the dump. I washed and sterilized it, and now it hangs in my closet awaiting winter chills. Clothes are always there to be found, although usually with a broken zipper or otherwise damaged. But they can often be repaired and put to good use.

•I've found good tools in the dump. And those that have something wrong with them can usually be welded or soldered so they serve the purpose.

•There is always a lot of scrap metal available, which can easily be hauled to junk yards and sold.

•Lumber, useful for building projects and for burning, is often found there.

•Believe it or not, you can find furniture at the dump. In fact, if you visit it often

enough you could probably furnish your house.

•Pipes and plumbing fixtures abound, too. For example, I found a perfectly good bathtub, sink and toilet tank last time I went.

•Pots and pans can be found in abundance. And, while you might not want to use them for cooking, they are useful for feeding and watering the animals, or as containers.

•Be on the lookout for five-gallon cans, for they can serve a number of purposes around your home.

•Toys are there in great number—often they're broken but sometimes just outgrown—as are parts of bicycles and tricycles. These items are usually easy to repair.

•Pieces of styrofoam, especially the large pieces, are useful for many things, including insulation. It's smart to pick them up and save them until they're needed.

•Bailing wire, that wonderful invention which is now so hard to find, is sometimes available at my favorite free store. I found a whole truck load of it recently!

Salvaging rules.

Here are some rules of dump salvaging:

•Be up to date with your tetanus booster.

•Wear boots, gloves, long sleeves and long, heavy pants—and a hat in summer. Goggles are preferable.

•Take a rake or heavy stick—both for balance and for poking.

•Take along another person, but leave small children at home or in the car.

•If your county has anti-salvaging laws, it's probably because officials are afraid of

law suits if someone gets hurt. Possibly the rules can be changed for salvagers who'll sign a waiver that they will not hold the county responsible in case of injury.

•Take another person when you go to dump your house and yard trash. One can be picking up things while the other un-

IN THESE TIMES MARCH 27-APRIL 2, 1985 23 loads.

Ruth Burke, a bookmobile driver in Yuma County, Ariz., has worked as managing editor of *Personal Romance* and *Intimate Story* magazines and is author of *How to Live on Nothing While Writing the Great American Novel*.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

NEW YORK, NY

March 30

"Fifth Genes and Gender Conference: Women's Work and Changing Technology," held at Hunter College, West Building, Lexington and 68th, New York. Pre-registration \$6.50; Registration \$7.50. Information: (718) 891-9057. Challenging "Genetic Determinism" and its effects of women's work choice, advancement, pay. Saturday, March 30th, 8:30 a.m.-6:00 p.m.

CHICAGO, IL

April 1

Gary Lapow, a singer/songwriter from San Francisco, makes his first solo appearance in the Chicago area in a house concert April 1, at 7:30 p.m., at 5338 N. Kenmore. Gary has performed with the feminist singer/songwriter Holly Near, Pete Seeger, and Malvina

Reynolds. He has also performed with "The Freedom Singers" and "The Red Star Singers." His album is *Tell It from the Heart*. Tickets are \$5.00 at the door, \$4.00 in advance. Available from Women and Children First, Unabridged Books, or by calling (312) 953-9478 or 561-8814.

BERKSHIRES, NY

May 3-5

The Berkshire Forum opens its 1984 season, with Mel King, Sheila and John Collins discussing the Rainbow Coalition as a pivotal force in independent political action. Call or write for information about weekend vacation workshops held in a beautifully situated comfortable modern lodge. Berkshire Forum, Box 124, Stephentown, NY 12168; (518) 733-5497.

COLORADO SPRINGS, CO

May 3-5

Attend "Stop the Arms Race in Space: A National Convention" in Colorado Springs (center for militarization of space). Goals are education and national strategy and coalition to halt space weapons. Registration: \$20; meals extra. Information, registration: STARS Convention, P.O. Box 915, Colorado Springs, CO 80901; (303) 471-1077 or 832-4508.

CLASSIFIED

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ANTI-INTERVENTION PROGRAM STAFF, Mobilization for Survival. Duties: Develop organizing materials, national campaigns, nationwide actions, communication among organizers. Current focuses: Central America, Middle East, Deadly Connections. Misc. office duties. Requirements: Organizing experience on third world intervention; writing, typing, coalition building, interpersonal skills. Commitment to MfS goals (Zero Nuclear Weapons, Ban Nuclear Power, Reverse the Arms Race, Meet Human Needs). Long hours. \$200-250/wk plus health ins., 3 wks paid vacation. Begins 6/17. Deadline 4/29. Resume and cover letter to MfS, 853 Broadway, Rm. 418, New York, NY 10003.

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EDITOR. The National Center of Youth Law (NCYL) seeks a part-time editor for *Youth Law News*, NCYL's bi-monthly journal. Writing, editing, and production work involved. Flexible hours, good benefits. \$9-13,000. Contact: Editor Search, NCYL, 1663 Mission St., 5th Fl., S.F. CA 94103, (415) 543-3307. Applications by April 15th.

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR POSITION: The Youth Project is a D.C.-based national, public foundation which provides funding and technical assistance to a wide range of citizen organizations committed to social and economic justice. It has a staff of 21, with offices in 7 states, managing approximately \$4.5 million annually. Duties: program direction and policy development, fundraising (\$1 million annual budget), long range development, administrative and fiscal management. Requirements: ability to direct a complex organization, capacity to fundraise, knowledge of social change organizations and strategies in the U.S. To apply: submit resume with references including phone numbers to Search Committee, The Youth Project, 1555 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. Equal Opportunity Employer.

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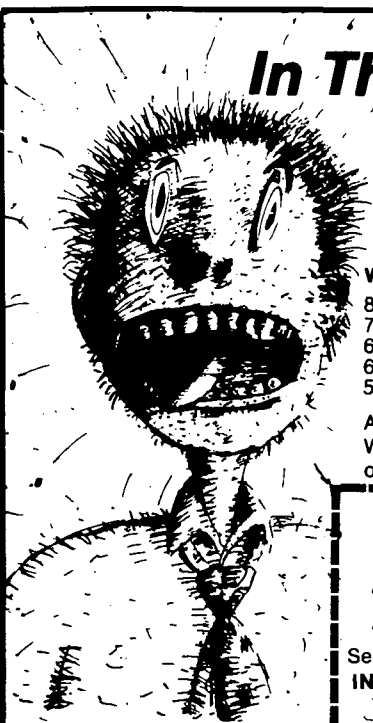
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Free-Market System

By Ruth Burke

FORTUNATELY, THE LOCAL DUMP IS JUST ACROSS THE FIELD from where we live. This makes it easy to have both income and an avalanche of good things coming our way the year around. And there are no restrictions against salvaging things from there—or if there are, we haven't heard about them. We live in a sparsely settled desert community where people take care of themselves, to a large extent, without being chaparoned by officialdom.

In the old days, the pioneers in this area didn't have to go back to basics; they hadn't gotten away from them. And if you closely examine the old shacks along the highways in the desert, you'll see they used mud for insulation, cardboard for wallboard and five-gallon cans (cut open and pressed out) for roofing. These, and much more, are the very things you'll find when the big blue trash truck has dumped its load.

Our last load of aluminum cans, scrap aluminum and news-

papers brought \$35 (we don't crush our cans), and we try to take a load every time we go to the city. However, aside from aluminum, we seldom sell what we find. The name of the game in our remote desert land is *save-it-for-the-future*. Sometimes we share with the neighbors. But, if we chose, we could make a good living as salvagers.

Here are some of the items we look for:

- Aluminum—cans and scrap, which we sell.
- Broken radios, TVs, stereos, and other electronic components the parts of which can be used in repairing other equipment.
- Glass bottles, especially whiskey bottles, which can be sold at the recycling place near us for a cent or two a pound, or used for other purposes. For instance, I made a fence out of bottles and mud which is holding up quite well and which, around

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